FOREIGN
BROADCAST
INFORMATION
SERVICE

Daily Report

East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-045
Wednesday
7 March 1990

Daily Report
East Europe

FBIS-EEU-90-045 CONTENTS *7 March 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

INTRABLOC AFFAIRS

PAP: Pact Prague Meeting on Germany 17 Mar 1
Shevardnadze: Pact Meeting After GDR Elections *[Budapest Radio]* 1
'East European Solidarity' Conference Opens *[MTI]* 1
  Issues Statement *[MTI]* 1
  Speakers Address Solidarity Rally *[MTI]* 1

ALBANIA

Alia Speech Criticizes Film Industry Bureaucracy *[DRITA 18 Feb]* 3
New Decision Limits Managers' Terms of Office *[ZERI I POPULLIT 24 Feb]* 4
Jailed Kosovo Writer Adam Demaci Honored *[DRITA 25 Feb]* 5
New Volume of Hoxha's Works Published *[ATA]* 5
Alia, Leaders Pay Homage at Hysni Kapo's Grave *[ATA]* 6

BULGARIA

Boyko Dimitrov Interviewed on Europe, Macedonia *[BTA]* 7
First Official Representative to EC Accredited *[BTA]* 7
Bobov Dol Miners Strike Causes Energy Shortage *[Sofia Radio]* 7
National Assembly Session Continues 7
  Hears Abuses Commission Report *[BTA]* 7
  Approves New Radio, TV Bodies *[Sofia Radio]* 8
  Adopts 1990 Budget *[BTA]* 9
  Passes Bills on Property, Labor *[BTA]* 9
  Adopts Declaration on Macedonia *[BTA]* 10
Roundtable Talks Expected To Resume 'Next Week' *[BTA]* 10
Opposition Parties Unite; Conference Date Set *[BTA]* 11
BZNS Meets; Statement on Macedonian Issue *[Sofia Radio]* 11
BZNS Holds 36th Extraordinary Congress 11
  Angel Dimitrov Speaks *[BTA]* 11
  Drenchev Acclaimed, Booed *[Sofia Radio]* 12
  Debate on Merger *[BTA]* 12
  Opening Session Proceedings Noted *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 28 Feb]* 12
  Debate on Uniting With Opposition *[BTA]* 14
  Failure To Unite; Vulkov Elected *[BTA]* 14
  Further on 2d Day of Congress *[ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME 1 Mar]* 15
Government Decree on Encouraging Agriculture *[BTA]* 16
  Lukanov: Priority Concern *[BTA]* 16

CZECHOSLOVAKIA

Student Leader Popovic Threatens 'Strike Alert' *[Bratislava Radio]* 17
Pithart Addresses Czech National Council *[Prague Radio]* 17
Deputies Approve Name Change to Czech Republic *[Prague Radio]* 23
USSR Vehicles, Soldiers Continue Withdrawal *[Prague Radio]* 23
Dienstbier Questioned on Recent Diplomatic Tour *[Prague Radio]* 23
Dienstbier on Unification, Polish Border, Trade *[Vienna Radio]* 24
UK Minister of State Discusses Aid Prospects *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Feb]* 24
Havel's U.S. Congress Speech Termed 'Triumph' *[Hoda in LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE 23 Feb]* 25

Dubcek in Paris; Proclaims 'New Road to Europe' *[AFP]* 25
  Received by French Premier Rocard *[CTK]* 26
Prague Conference Offers Democratic Experience *[CTK]* 26
Federal Assembly Elections Set for 8-9 Jun *[Prague Radio]* 26
New Minority Rights Group Opposes Discrimination *[Budapest Radio]* 26
Slovak Government Discusses Minority Issues *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Official Warns of Anti-Hungarian Extremism *[Budapest Radio]* 27
Program of 'Slovak National Party' Published *[SMENA 28 Feb]* 27
Slovak Political Prisoners Found Organization *[ROLNICKE NOVINY 5 Mar]* 28
Civic Forum Introduces Two Political Parties *[Prague Radio]* 28
Leader of New Left-Wing Party Outlines Policies *[RUDE PRAVO 12 Feb]* 28
'Transnational Radical Party' Establishes Program *[VECERNI PRAHA 20 Feb, etc.]* 29
Freedom Party Denies Ultra-Right-Wing Label *[RUDE PRAVO 28 Feb]* 30
Officials Interviewed on National Front's Future *[RUDE PRAVO 26 Feb]* 30
Social Democratic Leader Discusses Program *[VECERNI PRAHA 1 Mar]* 31
'Secret Letter' Alleges Communist Conspiracy *[Vienna DER STANDARD 6 Mar]* 31
Publishing Firm Breaks With Communist Party *[RUDE PRAVO 27 Feb]* 32

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

Modrow Discusses 'Very Significant' Moscow Talks *[ADN]* 33
USSR Supreme Soviet Group Visits Roundtable *[ADN]* 33
Modrow Talks With Council of Europe Officials *[ADN]* 33
Kohl Stance on Oder-Neisse Border Viewed *[Geisler in NEUE ZEIT 2 Mar]* 34
FRG Basic Law Articles on Unification Viewed *[Adam in BERLINER ZEITUNG 2 Mar]* 34
New Berlin Border Checkpoints Planned *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 Mar]* 35
Youth Exchange Agreed With France *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3-4 Mar]* 35
Further on People's Chamber Session *[ADN]* 35
  Law on Elections Adopted *[ADN]* 35
  Law on Tax Change Adopted *[ADN]* 36
  Agricultural Laws Passed *[ADN]* 36
  Independence for State Bank *[ADN]* 36
  Freedom of Trade Approved *[ADN]* 36
  Corruption Commission Ended *[ADN]* 36
  Modrow Returns From Moscow *[ADN]* 37
  Chamber Session Resumes *[ADN]* 37
  Modrow Addresses Chamber *[ADN]* 37
  Social Charter Approved *[ADN]* 39
  Resolution on Culture, Art *[ADN]* 40
  Law on Assembly Passes *[ADN]* 40
  Laws on Private Ownership *[ADN]* 40
  Modrow Gets Standing Ovation *[ADN]* 40
  Chamber Ends 18th Session *[ADN]* 40
Text of Civilian Alternative Service Law *[FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU 27 Feb]* 40
Decree on Early Benefits Goes Into Effect *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 Mar]* 44
Boehme Says SPD To Seek Partners *[ADN]* 44
  No Unity 'In the Style of Kohl' *[Hamburg DIE WELT 6 Mar]* 44
Brandt Addresses Election Rally *[ADN]* 45
Gysi Visits Greifswald Nuclear Power Plant *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 1 Mar]* 45
CDU Leader Notes Split Within Alliance *[Hamburg DPA]* 46
NDPD Calls for Social Program *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 2 Mar]* 46
  Environmental Appeal *[BERLINER ALLGEMEINE 3-4 Mar]* 46
Democratic Renewal Leader on Reunification *[Paris LE FIGARO 2 Mar]* 47
Election Ad of League of Free Democrats *[DER MORGEN 3-4 Mar]* 47
DSU Official on Unity, Oder-Neisse Border *[NEUE ZEIT 1 Mar]* 48
LPG, GPG Association Founded *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3-4 Mar]* 48
Justice Minister Discusses Legal Reform *[Hamburg DER SPIEGEL 5 Mar]* 48
New Daily Newspaper Available *[BERLINER ZEITUNG 24-25 Feb]* 49
Human Rights Group Calls for Safeguarding Rights *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 Mar]* 50
Amnesty International Branch To Open in Berlin *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 2 Mar]* 50
New Editorial Team To Continue Weekly *[NEUES DEUTSCHLAND 3-4 Mar]* 50

New Forum's, Other Groups' Paper To Reappear *[ADN]* 50

HUNGARY

Investigation of Nemeth's Declaration Urged *[Budapest Radio]* 51
FIDESZ Says National Summit Unsuccessful *[Budapest TV]* 51
Socialist Candidates Hold News Conference *[Budapest Radio]* 51
Left-Wing Youth Association Discusses Elections *[Budapest Radio]* 51
Minister Favors Creation of Competition Law *[MTI]* 52
Grosz Discusses Transition, MSZMP's Future *[MAGYAR NEMZET 3 Mar]* 52
Medgyessy on Establishment of Market Economy *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 2 Mar]* 54
Horn Discusses Soviet Troop Withdrawal *[MTI]* 55
Nyers Receives Former Romanian Deputy Premier *[MTI]* 56
Deputy Minister Meets Romanian Counterpart *[MTI]* 56
CSSR Suspends Exchange of Forints *[Budapest Radio]* 56
Council of Europe Officials Visit Budapest *[MTI]* 56
  Visitors Focus on Reform *[MTI]* 57
  Working Visit Ends *[MTI]* 57
Karpati Visits Netherlands Counterpart *[MTI]* 57
  Delegation Continues Visit *[MTI]* 58
Diplomatic Relations With Bahrain Established *[MTI]* 58
  Further on Bahrain *[MTI]* 58
  Somogyi Discusses Visit *[MTI]* 58
Nemeth Meets Australians, West Germans *[MTI]* 59
  Nemeth Meets TNT Chairman *[MTI]* 59

POLAND

Officials, Commentaries React To W. Border Issue 60
  Skubiszewski on Security Concerns *[Tel Aviv DAVAR 5 Mar]* 60
  Mazowiecki: Border, European Stability Linked *[Hamburg DIE WELT 5 Mar]* 60
  Kohl's Position 'Ambiguous' *[Wojna on Warsaw Radio]* 62
  Jaruzelski Warns Against Prolonged Debate *[Hamburg DPA]* 62
  Commentary on Kohl's 'About-Face' *[Reiter in GAZETA WYBORCZA 2 Mar]* 62
Solidarity Reportedly Should Split Into 2 Parties *[TRYBUNA 2 Mar]* 63
Walesa Views Solidarity's Future Political Role *[Madrid DIARIO 16 8 Feb]* 63
Solidarity Wants Limits Placed on Unemployment *[Warsaw Radio]* 64
SDRP Leader Alleges Civil Rights Abuses *[Warsaw TV]* 64
Head of Economic Commission Haussmann Arrives *[Hamburg DPA]* 64
Polish Tourists Create 'Incident' on Soviet Ship *[AFP]* 65

ROMANIA

PNUC Session To Discuss 'Various Issues' 66
  Cults Ministry Opposed *[ROMPRES]* 66
  Foreign Investment Viewed *[ROMPRES]* 67
  Peasant Party Claims Stated *[ROMPRES]* 68
PNUC Vice President Minzatu on Minority Issue *[ROMPRES]* 68
Kiraly: 'No Reason To Reconcile' Minorities *[ROMPRES]* 69
ROMPRES on Economic Liberalization 69
PNUC Executive Bureau on Joint Venture Decree *[Bucharest Radio]* 70
Joint Ventures With France, Germany Expand *[ROMPRES]* 70
Macri Interrogation Continues in Timisoara *[ROMPRES]* 71
Army Democratization Committee Communique *[ADEVARUL 27 Feb]* 71
Nuclear, Hydroelectric Power Potential Assessed *[ROMPRES]* 71
Roman Discusses Energy Matters With Experts *[Bucharest Radio]* 72
Government Meeting on Economic Profitability *[ROMPRES]* 72
Weekly Interviews Foreign Trade Bank President *[ROMPRES]* 72
Social Problems, Food Supplies Announced *[ROMPRES]* 73
Swedish Paper on 'Poisoning' of Suceava *[Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET 25 Feb]* 73
Suceava Students, Iasi Journalists Strike *[Bucharest Radio]* 74

- Decree-Law on Repayment of Workers' Social Shares *[ADEVARUL 23 Mar]* 75
- Timisoara Genocide Trial Continues 5, 6 Mar *[ROMPRES]* 75
- Doina Cornea Deplores Campaign of 'Rude Rumors' *[ROMPRES]* 75
- Daily Warns of Split in Popular Consensus *[ADEVARUL 23 Feb]* 76
- Three Demonstrations Reported From Bucharest *[Bucharest Radio]* 76
- Friendship Society With GDR Established *[ROMPRES]* 77
- Romanian-PRC Economic Protocol Signed *[ROMPRES]* 77
- New Independent Weekly SECUNDA Published *[ROMPRES]* 77
- Opinion Poll on Politicians' Popularity *[ROMPRES]* 77
- Military, Officials Discuss Democratizing Army *[Bucharest Radio]* 77
- Petru Groza Statue Dismantled in Bucharest *[Bucharest Radio]* 78
- * Dissatisfaction of Military With Regime *[ROMANIA LIBERA 17 Feb]* 78
- * Dangers of Abuse of Governmental Power Cited *[ROMANIA LIBERA 14 Feb]* 79

YUGOSLAVIA

- Kosovo Alternative Groups Call for Restraint *[TANJUG]* 81
- Kosovo Casualties for February Reported *[TANJUG]* 81
- Staff of Pristina Radio Protest 'Insinuations' *[RILINDJA 2 Mar]* 81
- Mostar Roundtable Talks on Kosovo Assessed *[BORBA 5 Mar]* 82
- Markovic Receives Islamic Community Leaders *[TANJUG]* 82
- Officials, Parties on Future of LCY, Congress 83
  - Slovenia's Ciril Ribicic *[BORBA 26 Feb]* 83
  - Croatian LC President Racan *[TANJUG]* 83
  - Kosovo LC Urges Resuming Congress *[Belgrade Radio]* 84
  - Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Adopts Stands *[TANJUG]* 84
  - Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Urges Continuation *[TANJUG]* 84
  - Vojvodina Leadership on Resumption *[TANJUG]* 85
  - LCY Presidium's Legitimacy Questioned *[Torov in BORBA 17-18 Feb]* 85
- LCY Membership Continues To Decline *[BORBA 15 Jan]* 87
- LCY To Stop Financing Party Weekly *[TANJUG]* 88
- Consumer Prices Fall; Inflation Slows *[TANJUG]* 88
- Markovic on Economic Issues; Meets Officials 88
  - On Foreign Debt, Currency Reserves *[TANJUG]* 88
  - On Future of Steel Industry *[TANJUG]* 89
  - Talks With Exporters *[TANJUG]* 89
  - Meets Shipping Representatives *[TANJUG]* 90
  - Meets TU Officials on Economic Policy *[TANJUG]* 90
- Spokesman on Trade Surplus With USSR *[TANJUG]* 90
- 'Record' Trade With Poland for 1989 *[POLITIKA 26 Feb]* 91
- Vajgl on Normalizing Relations With Israel *[TANJUG]* 91
- Swedish Extradition Decision Said 'Unacceptable' *[TANJUG]* 91

PAP: Pact Prague Meeting on Germany 17 Mar

LD0503202490 Warsaw PAP in English 1649 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Prague, March 5—Ministers of foreign affairs of the Warsaw Treaty are to meet in Prague on March 17 to discuss various aspects of the unification of Germany, spokesman for the Czechoslovak Ministry of Foreign Affairs announced here today. According to the spokesman, among issues to be discussed during the meeting will be the issue of guarantees for Polish-German border.

Shevardnadze: Pact Meeting After GDR Elections

LD0603102790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0900 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] The head of Soviet diplomacy said that the planned Warsaw Pact foreign ministers meeting in Budapest [as heard] to discuss the German question will be held only after the GDR elections. At his Moscow news briefing Eduard Shevardnadze reiterated that the Soviet Union is an advocate of gradualness in the matter of German unification. The foreign minister also announced that talks would soon begin on restoring diplomatic relations between the USSR and Chile.

'East European Solidarity' Conference Opens

LD0303221890 Budapest MTI in English 1753 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 3 (MTI)—"East European Solidarity—European Integration" is the title of a conference that opened in Budapest on Saturday, in the organization of the Alliance of Free Democrats [AFD].

The event is attended by Bulgarian, Czechoslovak, East German, Polish, Romanian and Hungarian professionals and politicians. The more prominent figures of the conference are Zbigniew Bujak, Jan Litynski (Poland, Solidarity), Dana Nemcova, Alexandr Vondra (Czechoslovakia, Charter 77), Baerbel Bohley (GDR, New Forum), and Dan Petrescu (Romania, deputy minister of culture).

On behalf of the hosts, Janos Kis, acting president of the AFD, stressed that those present have, since the mid-1970s, participated in the democratic movements of the region, and close solidarity has existed between them for a year and a half.

Participants are to discuss their conceptions about the future of the region. Themes include the issue of Soviet troops withdrawal, the future of the Warsaw Treaty, the integration of the countries in the region into a single Europe, and their views on the place of a unified Germany in Europe in the transition period, what the relation of the states situated between the two great powers of the region—the strengthening Germany and the weakening Soviet Union—should be like. Ideas regarding the borders created in 1945 and the national minorities will also be set forth.

On the proposal of Jan Litynsky, the organizations represented at the conference will endeavour to define their indentity, what it is that connects or differentiates them from the other political forces and movements of the region. Participants are expected to approve a joint statement at the end of the conference, to be set forth at a press conference scheduled to be held after a rally on Sunday in Budapest.

Issues Statement

LD0403183690 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—Participants of the international conference entitled "East European Solidarity - European Integration" on Sunday [4 March] issued a joint statement in Budapest, in which they take a stand for the common future of the states in the region.

The conference, organized by the Alliance of Free Democrats, was attended by participants from Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, East Germany, Poland and Hungary. In the statement, the participants ensure their support to the unification of Germany, within the borders of the two German states. They agree that Poland should participate in the conference to be held on the future of Germany, in the phase when a decision is made on the borders of the German state.

Conference participants voiced their conviction that efforts to redraw the European state borders would be dangerous. They also note that the unalteredness of the borders infers that the future of the ethnic minorities be reassuringly settled in all places, in the spirit of democracy.

The document also sets down that a new, unified Europe should be based on a security system that evolves from the Helsinki process, and which also includes the United States and the Soviet Union. Participants declare their solidarity with the forces aiming to create a European, democratic Russia.

Prior to the press conference to be held on the results of the conference, the AFD held a rally. Speakers at the rally were the representatives of the organizations participating at the East European Solidarity Conference.

Speakers Address Solidarity Rally

LD0403195990 Budapest MTI in English 1812 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 4 (MTI)—The Alliance of Free Democrats held a rally on Sunday in Budapest. Speakers included representatives of the East European organizations who attended the East European Solidarity Conference. Baerbel Bohley, executive of the New Forum organization of the GDR, stressed the strong ties of the Germans towards the East European countries. Bohley said it would not be good, even after the unification of the Germans, if their future were to separate them from the countries of the region.

Angel Akhrianov, representative of the Federation of Democratic forces of Bulgaria, said that making the borders freely passable could be the most important means in the fight against the revival of nationalism. Mate Marac, member of the Croatian Social-Liberal League, said that handling the minority, the individual separate views in an understanding manner is indispensable for the operation of democracy.

Dan Petrescu, Romania, said it is very important for the more advanced East European countries to assist the countries in arrears, with their experiences. Dana Nemcova, Czechoslovakia, recalled the close relations that have connected the members of the Czechoslovak and Hungarian democratic opposition for more than a decade.

Adam Michnik, representative of the Polish Solidarity, termed it important that no great power be able to force its will onto any single small country in the region in the future. Gaspar Miklos Tamas, executive of the Alliance of Free Democrats, stressed the Free Democrats take a stand for the institutional protection of the rights of the minorities. Characteristic institutions that guarantee the common rights of the minorities, rather than semblance parliamentary representation, is necessary to realize this goal, he said.

Alia Speech Criticizes Film Industry Bureaucracy

AU0703083690 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
18 Feb 90 pp 1-2

[Unattributed report: "The People Have Come to Love Albanian Films"—"Comrade Ramiz Alia's Speech at the Meeting of the Central Committee Secretariat on 13 February 1990"]

[Text] Our film studio established itself within a relatively brief period. The people have come to love Albanian films, particularly the younger generations. About 150 major films have been produced so far. Our directors and artists have shown and continue to show themselves as capable and very talented creators. It is appropriate here to repeat what Comrade Enver Hoxha stressed two decades ago: That we have artists of international stature who, from the viewpoint of their skill and talent, are capable of performing even the most difficult roles.

It is a fact, as is said in our publicity material, that Albania occupies a good place among producers of artistic films, in relation to the size of the population. However, statistical averages of this kind reflect the quantitative aspect, but not the degree to which the spiritual needs of people are met. When we talk about spiritual values, the needs of a small population are no less than those of a large population.

It is not necessarily a question of increasing the number of films produced. I would even add that the number 14 is not a sacred number or a constant principle that must be neither reduced nor increased. It is not, therefore, a matter of fixing the number of films produced through a decision. The people want quality films. People working in our studios must proceed from the principle that in art, more than in any other field, it is quality that determines the value of the product. It is irrational to reduce the norm of film material used, let us say, from eight meters to six meters, if the work produced is thus invalidated.

I am under the impression that in the sphere of creative activity, proceeding from the theater, to the film studio, and on to the publishing houses, the echo of the latest Central Committee plenum's decisions is rather tepid. In fact, it appears that the idea is taking root, that these decisions are related only to the economy and have nothing to do with the field of creativity. The Committee for Culture and the Arts approves even the scripts of films before they are released for production. Exhibitions are not opened without having passed through several commissions. Titles cannot be taken out of or added to publishing plans without approval from above. Artistic and scientific councils and collegiums do not have the right to make decisions. In fact, they are sometimes not even listened to respectfully.

There must be neither vetoes nor votes in art, culture, and science. What there is and there must be is sound dialogue, constructive and argued debate, exchanges of opinions about the best solution to the matters under discussion, and respect for all that is rational. Collegian and fully responsible judgment in the collectives, editorial boards, and institutions is the best defense against slippages and mistakes; on the other hand, prejudices, the stifling of the initiative and thinking of people, and impositions in the name of bureaucratic posts lead to a false road.

Command methods are more harmful and more dangerous in the field of the arts than in any other field. Many competences must be transferred from the apparatuses and administrations to the collegian artistic organs. An administrator, even at the highest level, can make mistakes more easily than a council or collegium. The granting of competences and the extension of the field of independent initiative will certainly be accompanied by an increased sense of civic and artistic responsibility. More confidence must be placed in people doing creative work. The proposal of the comrades that the artistic councils be given the right to make decisions appears to me to be appropriate.

I believe that two outstanding experiences are obvious in the four decades since the creation of our Film Studio. The great epic themes related to the glorious history of our people, with their climatic events, and with the difficult battles for socialism were tackled successfully in the seventies. From the beginning of the eighties, on the other hand, dealing more and more with contemporary problems, valuable efforts were made to penetrate the inner life of people. These two experiences must be joined and merged into one single entity. This will enable our films to reflect the human epic of the socialist society and, at the same time, defeat both the pressure of schematism and the inclinations for subjectivist, naturalist, or formalistic experimentation. This is essential, especially to ensure that our socialist life, the transformations that have taken place during the party's era, are reflected in all their dimension in our films.

Television, too, is engaged considerably in the production of films. We do have a studio for the production of television films, although its activity is still limited. There is room for positive changes to be made here. The technical assets of our television studios must be used more for the production of artistic films. The Film Studio, the theater, and television could assist each other more through greater cooperation.

Conceptual changes need to be made concerning documentary films. What needs to be done here is to get away from the veneer, stage setting, and posing by people. Documentaries need the authentic truth, without pretense, without concoctions. Otherwise, they are useless in reflecting history. Everyone likes those few sequences being preserved in our archives and showing the first mass actions immediately after the war: No one is repelled by the difficulties of the work, not even by those ragged girls and boys who built our first railroads and roads. Are there no difficulties in our contemporary production and social activities? Of course, there are.

However, one will seldom see a film about work in the Bulqize mine, on the viaducts and tunnels of our railroads, and in difficult production sectors. Some events, when viewed in a documentary, appear to lose their real importance.

Difficulties and hindrances do exist in real life. If they are not reflected, the heroism of the people fades. Documentaries need neither embellishment nor blackening, only real life.

The decisions of the latest Central Committee plenum must be reflected in the activity of the "New Albania" Film Studio and its economic operations. The system of differential subsidies is being applied toward this institution, as well as all other cultural institutions. In other words, these institutions use all their own incomes and, regardless of plans, are subsidized by the state for all other expenditure. In 1988, for example, it was planned that, not including investments, cinemas would receive 800,000 leks in subsidies. However, because they failed to achieve the planned revenues, they received 1.5 million leks in subsidies. In addition, the economic and financial activity of the Film Studio is separated from the results achieved by the network of cinemas. This means that, from the economic side of things, the Film Studio is not concerned about what happens to its films, how many spectators they have, and what revenues they bring. The same applies to the publishing houses. This method of economic management is irrational. There are more profitable ways of managing the revenues of artistic institution, but the government needs to think seriously about the matter.

The state of cinemas is well known. They have been neglected and are deteriorating at a time when the cinema is being challenged by television. There is an obvious need for investments. The most appropriate solution would be to decide that these investments be effected mainly by the excess revenues of the cinemas, radically improving their work. The principle of "Let us take what they give us and return what they demand from us" has negative consequences on the national economy. The cinemas and other cultural institutions must be given the opportunity to make profits through appropriate mechanisms in order to meet their repair bills themselves.

The comrades here have raised a number of problems. Concerning the question of specialist cadres, I am in agreement with the idea that more care should be devoted to the Higher Arts Institute. Specialization abroad is also necessary, but these should be restricted to brief periods and mainly at the postgraduate level. As far as technological renewal is concerned, I would say that the situation is known. It is obvious from television programs that the equipment is becoming outdated. The state organs must study this question, because the demands for the renewal of equipment are growing and priorities must be determined in conformity with the economic potential. The Film Studio can and should lighten society's burden in this matter, securing foreign currency through the sale of films. This is the most rational way. As far as the links with the cinema network are concerned, the question must be studied, judged, and decided. The main thing is that accountability be strengthened.

I am convinced that our artists, directors, stage managers, operators, and all the other people working in the cinema will respond to the important tasks confronting them.

New Decision Limits Managers' Terms of Office

AU0103085990 Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 24 Feb 90 p 1

[Editorial: "Decision Helping To Increase the Role of the Masses in Deepening Democracy"]

[Excerpt] The ninth Albanian Workers Party Central Committee plenum stressed that confronting today's tasks in developing the country, continuing on the socialist road, and preserving the homeland's freedom and independence are indissolubly linked to continually strengthening the party's leading role and revolutionizing the country's entire life. Reality today shows that the party has always been nourished by the wisdom, knowledge, and thinking of the people and that it has created conditions for a comprehensive increase of the role of the masses and of socialist democracy. The decision of the Council of Ministers made in recent days, "On Managers' Terms of Office in One Post," also helps to increase the role of the masses throughout the country's life. It embodies one of the important decisions and guidelines of the ninth party Central Committee plenum.

According to the Council of Ministers' decision, managing cadres in sectors of the economy may remain for only five years in one post, with the right of reelection for a further five-year term following discussion. This means that a deputy minister or general secretary in a ministry with 10 years experience in the same post must move. Those with only five years' experience may be reelected for a further five-year period following discussion. However, this reelection depends entirely on the discussion to be carried out on the cadre's skills and abilities in his job, how he has coped with the duties entrusted to him, and his qualities as a cadre, communist, and citizen. Thus, every cadre must be vetted by the judgment of the masses and their decision. As Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed at the ninth party Central Committee plenum, the people are masters of the country and of the destiny of socialism precisely because they both direct and act on decisions at the same time. This valuable lesson of the party is concretely embodied in the Council of Ministers' decision, which will immediately have wide and significant effect throughout the country, because the masses will immediately discuss and decide on those cadres who have completed their term of tenure in their jobs, and will reelect or not those who have completed only five years, whether they are managers, assistant managers, or chief engineers in combines, enterprises, and factories; chief agricultural experts or veterinarians in agricultural enterprises; or managers in factories, sectors, construction sites, and workshops, down to the level of brigade leader. [passage omitted]

Jailed Kosovo Writer Adam Demaci Honored

AU0703101890 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
25 Feb 90 p 8

[Adem Istrefi, Skender Bucpapaj article: "Adem Demaci and 'The Serpents of Blood'"]

[Text] Somewhere toward the end of this short novel, in a dialogue of riddles and oblique and metaphorical expressions, a character quite spontaneously and in passing says: "The Albanians cannot be ground down so easily. Flint can be ground down and shattered, but you cannot make mud bricks out of the dust."

The writer was then only 22 years old. He could not have known that he had made such a full and figuratively exact definition in his historical portrait of an Albanian. He could not have known that he himself would embody and exactly correspond to such a character, and become one of the most startling and disturbing figures in Albanian literature. He was then prevented from writing. He lost his name and became a number. They call all the cells in Serbian prisons by number. The police files are marked with a question mark and a cross, and after them a note in blood-red ink: professional prisoner. Then another note: totally irreformable.

Irreformable by whom? Irreformable or unrepentant? A trial in 1959. A trial in 1964. A trial in 1976. The same defendant, and the same prisons: Nis, Stara Gradiska, Pozarevac; mention as many others as you like. But he himself is a standing condemnation of his trials, while the guards jangle their keys and spit on their palms before fresh tortures. How far does the guards' imagination run? How long can a man's nerve to endure hold out? How long can he last? Is there any limit? The writer would no longer have written, "If a man is always treated like a dog, in the end he comes to believe he is a dog himself," because there are some prisoners who never give way in jail. He would think, and why not, that this man is a kind of European Nelson Mandela. In a way he is, and has become a symbol of endurance, united with his people in the struggle against violence, state terrorism, and apartheid. In other ways, he resembles only himself. In still other ways, he resembles Gjecovi, the writer tragically killed by the bullets of the Great Serbs in 1929. Thirty years later, a Stjefen Gjecovi was silenced once again when the voice of Adem Demaci, the writer, was silenced in the bloom of his youth and at the height of his powers. It was a new and authentic voice, incomparable in its many layers of meaning and metaphorical power, its articulation of the voice of the people, the power and subtlety of its resonance, and its mingling of legend and reality, the magical, and the everyday in that eddying, surging flow of narrative we call the novel. Anyone given the chance to drink from this stream never forgets the experience. Even the title, "The Serpents of Blood," is a novel in itself, just as the writer's life constitutes a novel which is the most dramatic tragedy in Albanian and European literature.

Who could write this novel of his life? Nobody could do it better than Adem Demaci himself, with his intimate knowledge of the Dantean hell of the Serbian chauvinists. Dobrica Cosic and Antonije Isakovic, not a hair of whose heads has ever been touched, make pompous speeches at the Serbian Academy about killing Albanians, and are enthusiastically applauded and held aloft in triumph. The Chetnik writer Vuk Draskovic finds publishers for his chauvinist hysteria, and spreads filth about the Albanians' culture and identity. However, "Quod licet Jovi, non licet bovi." [What is allowed for Jove is not allowed for a cow.]

Faced with mass demands by the Kosovo people for Adem Demaci's release from prison, the news agency TANJUG has returned to this person again and again. In one of its recent reports, it stated that Adem Demaci "has been sentenced three times, in 1959, 1964, and 1976. On the last occasion he was sentenced to 15 years' imprisonment. Demaci is still in prison and will complete his sentence in October this year. Adem Demaci has spent 29 years in prison," TANJUG announces with pride.

Mandela was released from prison and progressive public opinion throughout the world welcomed this. However, it seems that the Great Serbs cannot give up their love of handcuffs and are determined to break every "record."

New Volume of Hoxha's Works Published

AU2802134590 Tirana ATA in English 0858 GMT
28 Feb 90

[Text] Tirana, February 28 (ATA)—The 69th volume of Comrade Enver Hoxha's works came off the press and was put to circulation. This volume includes speeches, discussions, talks, and notes, belonging to December 1978 - February 1979 period, a part of which published for the first time.

Of interest are the conclusions of the 6th plenum of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party "Striving to realize the plan we must strengthen the control on the implementation of the tasks," the discussion at the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers Party: "The responsibility before the people for the non-realizations rests on the leaders of the party and state power in the district and base," the talk "The party's propaganda and work stimulate the people to rack their brains and be creative at work," etc.

This volume reflects and analyses scientifically also many current international problems closely linked with the tasks facing our people in order to properly understand and live up to the situations.

The volume is equipped with an index.

Alia, Leaders Pay Homage at Hysni Kapo's Grave

AU0503130490 Tirana ATA in English 0730 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Tirana, March 4 (ATA)—On March 4, before noon, the day of the 75th anniversary of the birth of Comrade Hysni Kapo, one of the most prominent leaders of the party and state and one of the closest collaborators of Comrade Enver Hoxha, homage was paid by his grave at the martyrs'graves of the nation.

Attending this ceremony were also Comrade Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the party Central Committee and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and other party and state leaders, Comrade Adil Carcani, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Council of Ministers; Lenka Cuko, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the party Central Committee; Manush Myftiu, member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers and chairman of the State Control Commission; Pirro Kondi, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the District Party Committee; Llambi Gegprifti, alternate member of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee and chairman of the Executive Committee of the District People's Council; Nexhmije Hoxha, member of the party Central Committee and chairwoman of the General Council of the DFA [Democratic Front of Albania]; Vito Kapo; and Pilo Peristeri, member of the party Central Committee and other comrades.

Comrade Ramiz Alia met and warmly greeted members and relatives of Comrade Hysni Kapo's family and inhabitants of the capital who had gone there to pay homage.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and Comrade Lenka Cuko laid a wreath on the grave of Comrade Hysni Kapo on behalf of the party Central Committee with the inscription "To our beloved and unforgettable Comrade Hysni Kapo."

On behalf of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, the wreath was laid by the vice-president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, Xhafer Spahiu, and the secretary of this presidium, Sihat Tozaj, and on behalf of the Council of Ministers by Comrades Adil Carcani and Manush Myftiu. Likewise, wreaths were laid on behalf of the General Council of the DFA, the District Party Committee, the National Committee of the War Veterans of the Albanian People. A wreath was laid by Comrade Vito Kapo, the children, and grandchildren.

Comrade Ramiz Alia and the other party and state leaders kept a minute of silence and honoured with the fist up the unforgettable memory of Comrade Hysni Kapo.

Comrade Ramiz Alia laid a bouquet of flowers on the grave of our great leader and teacher, Comrade Enver Hoxha. The party and state leaders honoured with the fist up in token of profound respect for the immortal deed of the heroic leader of the masses and architect of new Albania, Comrade Enver Hoxha.

During the ceremony the wind orchestra played marches and the national anthem. Military men and pioneers of Enver stood guards of honour.

Boyko Dimitrov Interviewed on Europe, Macedonia

AU0603214690 Sofia BTA in English 2133 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA correspondent)—The Spanish LA VANGUARDIA daily today has published an extensive interview with Mr. Boyko Dimitrov, minister of foreign affairs of Bulgaria. The interview was taken in Sofia. "Our new foreign policy is aimed at helping along the processes of democratization in the country", the Bulgarian foreign minister pointed out.

To strengthen the positions of the transition we should pave our way to the European institutions and the West: the European Communities, world institutions like the GATT, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank. All this involves our joining the Council of Europe, Mr. Boyko Dimitrov said.

The Bulgarian minister of foreign affairs categorically rejects the attempts of SR [Socialist Republic] Macedonia to intervene in Bulgaria's internal affairs. Besides he believes that now when the Vienna negotiations are focussed on the reunification of Germany and the problems of security in Central Europe the guarantees for the strategic political stability in southern Europe, where the Balkan Peninsula is situated, may fail. From the point of view of Bulgaria's security her relations with the USSR and her Mutual Aid Treaty With the USSR will continue to be of great importance.

First Official Representative to EC Accredited

AU0503181090 Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Brussels, March 5 (BTA)—Mr Atanas Ginev, Bulgaria's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary in Belgium, is this country's first official representative to the European Communities. Today he handed his credentials to Mrs Moira Gowen-Quinn, deputy minister at the office of the prime minister of Ireland and president of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities.

Mrs Moira Gowen-Quinn expressed the European Communities' satisfaction with the economic and political changes underway in Bulgaria which she described as "encouraging". "We are glad that these changes are taking place in the conditions of stability," she said.

Mrs Moira Gowen-Quinn said that the European Communities are prepared to consider the Bulgarian aid requirements at this stage. "We want an early completion of the negotiations between the Common Market and Bulgaria on a trade and economic cooperation agreement, which will help a still more active Bulgarian participation in the shaping of Europe's new relationships," she emphasized.

Mr Atanas Ginev said that Bulgaria expects an early initialing of the prospective agreement with the E.C.

"We share this willingness," Mrs Gowen-Quinn said. "We regard work on the agreement as a remarkable opportunity to consider and work out the terms of Bulgaria's association to the European Communities."

"Bulgaria can rely on Ireland's wholehearted support while it holds the Common Market Presidency," she went on to say.

Bobov Dol Miners Strike Causes Energy Shortage

AU0603164490 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] The Committee on Power Supply has issued the following announcement:

A large number of miners from the Bobov Dol coal fields, which provide coal to the Bobov Dol Electric Power Plant, are continuing their strike for the fifth day. Because of this, the production of coal has been almost completely stopped and conditions have emerged which may cause coal-face collapses and mine fires. Consequently, certain sections and mines may have to be closed down.

Expensive mechanized mining equipment, purchased with foreign currency, and future coal production are jeopardized. As a result, the Bobov Dol Electric Power Plant today stopped the production of electric power for the country. The supply of coal for the population has been stopped.

The leadership of the Committee on Power Supply appeals to the striking workers to stop the active strike and restore normal work at the mines, so that it will not be necessary to interrupt the supply of electric power for the population and the industry.

We see the reasonable way of settling conflicts in constructive talks with the participation of representatives of the government, the striking workers, and the trade unions, the announcement of the Committee on Power Supply reads.

National Assembly Session Continues

Hears Abuses Commission Report

AU0603110890 Sofia BTA in English 1021 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—The National Assembly continued its session today. [passage omitted]

The National Assembly proclaimed a political and civil rehabilitation of 157 political and state functionaries, convicted and repressed in the trial against Traycho Kostov, who was executed in 1949, and in related trials between 1949 and 1952.

Those rehabilitated are victims of show trials, of the authoritarian regime's arbitrariness and lawlessness, of the Stalinist methods of administration and a gross disrespect for human rights. The Parliamentary Commission of Inquiry Into the Abuses and Law Violations says in a document that those people "were imprisoned, confined to labour camps and wrongfully dismissed and experienced the suffering and the horrors of a violent arm of repression."

The chairman of the commission, on whose motion those political and state figures were rehabilitated, announced that the commission has received about 300 more rehabilitation suggestions. He said that despite a willingness for an early pronouncement on the investigation of Todor Zhivkov's activities, the commission will observe the law and will adhere to the appropriate procedural principles.

Approves New Radio, TV Bodies

AU0603131890 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The 15th session of the Ninth National Assembly is continuing its work. Here is Yasen Indzhev's dispatch from the reporters' studio at the National Assembly.

[Indzhev] The 15th session of the National Assembly resumed this morning, and first dealt with Item 12 on the agenda, the report on the Parliamentary Commission for examining and resolving certain urgent questions related to the abuses and violations of legality committed in state, social, and economic life. The report on this item was delivered by Rumen Serbezov, and I will briefly summarize its contents.

The report described the progress of the inquiries and the development of the court case against Todor Zhivkov and his entourage, after which Rumen Serbezov announced that the issue of the residences and hunting reserves was once again discussed, and the commission recommended that the relevant competent organs review once again the advisability of the decision already adopted on the future use of these buildings and estates.

The commission also completed substantial work on elucidating the circumstances surrounding the disinformation permitted concerning the consequences of the Chernobyl accident. The National Assembly deputies' attention was drawn to a long list of persons condemned and repressed, without good reason, who were entitled to political and state rehabilitation. This list will be published in the press.

Rumen Serbezov mentioned the names of four National Assembly deputies—Vladimir Kaladzhiev, Mikhail Genovski, Viktor Vulkov, and Slavcho Trunski—who made certain recommendations concerning the commission's future work, in connection with this item of the agenda.

Under the next item on the agenda, which was of exceptional importance for the future of Bulgarian Radio and Television, was the report of the Parliamentary Commission on the status of the former Television and Radio Committee. I call it former because in the decision submitted for the attention of the people's deputies, it is proposed to reorganize the former Television and Radio Committee into autonomous and equal institutions with, as it was stated, an all-national and supraparty character. As it was later specified, these institutions will be called respectively the Committee for Television and the Committee for Radio.

What is contained in the draft resolution? It contains certain requirements made in relation to the two powerful media institutions, including the following: On the basis of the Constitution's requirements, the two institutions are to serve in strengthening national unity, the democratization of society, and confirmation of the basic national and human values. The two institutions, in conformity with the requirements of the Constitution and the law, must not permit the fomenting of ethnic and religious feuds and hatred in society.

The two institutions will be guided by the requirements for objectivity and impartiality. In their programs they are to provide varied knowledge, convey the experience of others, help to promote thought and imagination, and provide necessary entertainment.

The activity of Bulgarian Radio and Television will be monitored and controlled by the National Assembly through a parliamentary and public commission for television and radio. A decision was adopted that the commission would consist of 15 persons, eight National Assembly deputies and seven eminent figures and representatives of public and social life. An addition was also proposed that the commission should also include two economic figures. The commission's precise obligations were defined, as well as the procedures for making objections to the Radio and Television Committees. The people's deputies also considered how Bulgarian Television would operate in the conditions of the election campaign, the details of which will be included in the special electoral law. It was also stated that the two institutions will be mainly financed from the state budget, while providing opportunities for additional [word indistinct] and commercial activity.

The membership of the 15-person commission which was elected is as follows: Prof. Ilcho Dimitrov was confirmed as chairman, while the members included Georgi Stoyanov, Professor Dimitur Dimitrov, Leda Mileva, Lyuben Kulishev, Margarita Duparinova, Stefan Danailov, and Yana Zabunova. National Assembly Chairman Stanko Todorov specified that the commission would include four members of the Bulgarian Communist Party, three members of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union, and one nonparty member. The public figures included in the commission are the following: writer Georgi Mishev, journalist Ivayla Vulkova, writer Pelin Pelinov, scientist Petur Dinikov, film director Rangel Vulchanov, scientist Rumen (?Chanev), and poet Stefan Tsanev. The commission was elected, with one vote against and 18 abstentions.

The following were confirmed as the leaders of the two institutions: Aleksandur (?Vladkov), as chairman of the Committee for Radio, with three votes against and seven abstentions; and Pavel Pisarev, as chairman of the Committee for Television, with three votes against and five abstentions.

At the moment the session is continuing with the National Assembly declaration in connection with the letter from the chairman of the National Assembly of the SFRY.

Adopts 1990 Budget

AU0603151490 Sofia BTA in English 1357 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—The National Assembly today adopted the 1990 budget. It was drawn up in preparation for a radical economic reform which will be preceded by a crisis-management program. This budget creates conditions to strengthen the country's finance and money circulation. A consistent policy is being implemented of improving the system of finance and credit and of providing conditions for the development of a market economy.

Over the last three years public outlays exceeded public revenues, due to which the public debt has risen steeply to 11,000 million leva.

The country has found itself in dire financial straits basically due to the growing imbalance of economic development. For years on end major resources have been invested arbitrarily, without taking into account what Bulgaria can actually afford.

According to the new budget, the exchequer will play a considerably limited role in the redistribution processes in the national economy.

At present Bulgaria's foreign debt exceeds 10,000 million US dollars.

The 1990 gross national product is expected to decline 4.4 per cent from the 1989 level and the national income will post a 3.7 per cent drop. The budget tries to balance receipts and payments and to reduce the budget deficit to a possibly manageable proportions, mainly through reducing expenditures. The slashed outlays include investment, bonuses, and subsidies. Public and political organizations will no longer be state subsidized. Less public money will be spent on representative events, on the state administration, on defense and security.

The 1990 budget revenue is to total 24,894,200,000 leva, and public outlays will run at 25,851,100,000 leva. The planned revenue increase from 1989 is 1,022 million leva (4.3 per cent), and outlays will rise by 628 million leva (2.4 per cent) from last year's figure.

The bulk of the budget outlays will go to finance education and health care, as well as in the priority economic areas, mainly agriculture, housing construction, water supply, etc. Education gets 7.4 per cent of the national income, and 5.5 per cent will go to health care. The farm subsidy outlay (1,788 million leva) is almost double the 1989 figure.

Part of the credit resources will go to cover the budget deficit. When the budget was drafted, it was planned to reduce the deficit by 30 per cent from the 1989 level.

Mr Belcho Belchev, minister of finance, told the National Assembly that the national budget is intended to stabilize the economy without seriously impairing the people's living standards.

Passes Bills on Property, Labor

AU0603153090 Sofia BTA in English 1505 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—The MPs [members of parliament] adopted the tabled amendments and addenda of the Law of Property of the Citizens by which to eliminate a number of restrictions in property possession, in possession of transport vehicles and machinery, agricultural, building and other technique [sentence as received]. This law restores the citizens right to freely sell and transfer their immovable properties.

In the second voting the Law on Settling of Labor Disputes was approved. Its final version takes into consideration the proposals made yesterday about the order of approval of strikes and the way of their holding. The law encourages the civilized forms of settling of labor conflicts negotiations, mediations, arbitration, etc.

The law about the change of the Labor Code was also disputed.

The MPs endorsed the amendments in the Laws of the People's Police and the proposed amendments and addenda of the Law on Punishments which regulate the further humanization and democratization of decrees referring to the major rights of the citizens.

The National Assembly adopted a declaration in which it expresses concern over the anti-Bulgarian campaign in Yugoslavia, particularly in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia which is expressed in an address of the Yugoslavian Parliament to the Bulgarian Parliament from February 14 this year.

(We provide the text of this declaration separately)

Bulgaria's budget for 1990 was endorsed.

(Information about the budget is provided separately)

The MP Veselin Andreev posed the troubling issue about the critical ecological situation in the town of Srednogorie (90 km to the east of Sofia) where there is a large copper producing combine works.

Mr Krustyu Stanilov, minister of industry and technologies said that the concern of the people from this region is grounded. The plant which was built in the 60's after a Soviet technology which was progressive in its time, is now creating a critical ecological situation due to shortages in the purification technologies. The region has priority in the solution of ecological issues. Negotiations are being held for building of a suitable installation after a Swedish project. As from April 1990 the processing of ore concentrate which contains arsenic, is stopped, until suitable purification installations are introduced. Urgent measures are planned for technologies improvement.

Thus ended the 15 session of the Ninth National Assembly.

Adopts Declaration on Macedonia

AU0603194390 Sofia BTA in English 1832 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—The attempts to form and consolidate a nation on an anti-Bulgarian basis within Yugoslavia's constituent Socialist Republic of Macedonia and the related unwarranted claims to recognize a non-existent "Macedonian national minority" in Bulgaria are doomed to failure. There are neither historical nor legal or any other grounds to identify such a minority, says a declaration which the National Assembly adopted today. All actions taken in Yugoslavia in this direction will continue to be viewed as interference in the internal affairs, as encroachment on the national sovereignty and as territorial designs on Bulgaria, the document says.

The National Assembly voices concern over the anti-Bulgarian campaign in Yugoslavia and particularly in the Socialist Republic of Macedonia, which found expression in the February 14, 1990 address from the Yugoslav Federal Assembly to the Bulgarian National Assembly. In its declaration the Bulgarian Parliament recalls Bulgaria's efforts towards good-neighbor relations, understanding and cooperation with Yugoslavia and with the Socialist Republic of Macedonia. It is emphasized that the escalating attempts to exert pressure on Bulgaria prove that Yugoslavia fails to judge on their merits Bulgaria's approach and the essence of democratization in this country.

Recalling the agreement in principle reached between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia that the disputes lingering from a tragic past should not impede the promotion of cooperation and that the two countries should seek to place their relations on the basis of the historical truth, the National Assembly declaration recalls the over 100 years- long history of the Macedonian question.

Most of the population in Macedonia identified themselves as Bulgarians back in the 19th century, during the struggles for independent church and national liberation. In 1913 the partition of Macedonia left the greater part of the Bulgarian population in the area under a foreign assimilatory rule. During the thirties, bowing to pressure from the Yugoslav Communist Party, the Comintern adopted the tenet of a separate "Macedonian nation". After World War II, the Yugoslav leadership declared that the settlement of "the Macedonian issue" is possible only within the frameworks of federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia. The Yugoslavian ambitions were shown regarding Bulgaria, too. In the 1946 and 1956 population census in Bulgaria, the Bulgarians in Pirin Macedonia were forcibly listed as "Macedonians". The policy of forced Macedonization, implemented through gross administrative and political pressure and coercion, failed due to their mass resistance.

After the Republic of Macedonia was established as part of the Yugoslav Federation, in the endeavors to motivate the formation of a Macedonian nation a separate Macedonian language was proclaimed on an anti-Bulgarian basis. Dates, events and personalities belonging to Bulgarian history are being infringed.

The declaration acknowledges that for decades on end the regime in Bulgaria has banned a comprehensive scientific elucidation of the Macedonian question. "The question of the destiny, the rights and the freedoms of the Bulgarian population in Yugoslavia was unjustifiably suppressed, too. Regrettably, this problem failed to find a just settlement consistent with the contemporary standards of international law. In this connection, the National Assembly and the general public are within their rights to voice concern over the condition of that population and over guarantees of its freedom to choose its self-identification and to express its national identity," the declaration says.

The declaration recalls that no public force in Bulgaria will ever accept the distortion of national history and the misappropriation of the Bulgarian historical and cultural heritage.

The National Assembly expresses readiness to work together for building further confidence and mutual respect between the Bulgarian and the Yugoslav peoples, for the promotion of peace and friendship between the two countries' peoples.

Roundtable Talks Expected To Resume 'Next Week'

AU0603194490 Sofia BTA in English 1847 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Sofia, March 6 (BTA)—The national roundtable will probably hold a plenary session early next week, the Roundtable Secretariat has announced. After today's consultations on the resumption of the roundtable talks it seems that it is possible to complete the work on the texts of the agreement on the political system and the declarations on the role and the statute of the roundtable and the national agreement on guaranteeing the peaceful transition to a democratic political system by the end of this week.

Working groups are preparing for discussion at the roundtable talks the basic principles of the Constitution

Amendment Bill, the Political Parties Bill and the Election Bill which will be submitted and debated at the next session of the National Assembly.

A working group has been set up to make preparations for the discussion of socioeconomic problems and the program of the economic measures to be taken by the government this year.

Opposition Parties Unite; Conference Date Set

AU2802132790 Sofia BTA in English 1135 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Opposition Unites"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—The opposition Union of Democratic Forces and eight opposition parties—the Christian Republican Party, the New Social Democratic Party, the Party of Free Democrats, the Liberal Democratic Party, the Republican Party, the Bulgarian Socialist Party, the Bulgarian Democratic Constitutional Party and the Independent Democratic Party—yesterday reached an agreement on unity of action at the forthcoming elections.

It was decided to hold a national conference of the opposition democratic forces for working out their position and coordinating their stands on the key problems of the country. The conference will be held in Plovdiv on March 9.

BZNS Meets; Statement on Macedonian Issue

AU2302201990 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Feb 90

[Text] The Adminstrative Council of the Bulgarian National Agarian Union [BZNS] held a meeting in Sofia today.

Prior to the forthcoming, first Extraordinary Congress in the Union's 90-year history, the Administrative Council reviewed a draft accountability report, entitled: The BZNS—United, Independent, and Revived. The draft report contains the new political ambitions of the agrarians for rejecting the unprincipled compromises of the past and their firm resolve of totally eliminating the opportunism of the last 40 years. In evaluating this period as one devoid of any direction and of being disgracefully self-effacing in the shadow of the Communist Party, the draft report points out the requirement to adopt new principles and transform the union into a real democratic party.

The Administrative Council also adopted an appeal to the BZNS members for purpose-oriented and united actions in the country's difficcult political situation and recommended them to follow the political legacy of Aleksandur Stambolyiski, Tsanko Tserkovski, and of the brothers and (name indistinct) Petkov.

The Administrative Council approved an accountability report of the Union's Control Auditing Commission and voted for a declaration on the statement of the Yugoslav Assembly on the so-called Macedonian question, which is evaluated by the union members as absolutely meaningless.

BZNS Holds 36th Extraordinary Congress

Angel Dimitrov Speaks

AU2702171190 Sofia BTA in Englsh 1609 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—Mr. Angel Dimitrov, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS), sees the future BZNS as a modern centre party—a balancing and stabilizing factor in Bulgaria's political life.

We should become a democratic party of all the people, Angel Dimitrov said in the report presented at the 36th Extraordinary Congress of the BZNS which opened today.

The leader of the Agrarians pointed out that the Agrarian Party has already categorically rejected the guardianship of the Bulgarian Communist Party and is turning into an independent force acting on its own. He mentioned, as an example of the radical renewal of the BZNS, that most of the 2,600 delegates to the congress are taking part in such a forum for the first time and that more than 80 per cent of the local BZNS leaderships have been renewed. In the last three months more than 15,000 people have joined the BZNS and now its numerical strength is 136,000 members.

Mr. Dimitrov blamed the former BZNS leaders Aleksandur Obbov and Georgi Traykov for their lack of courage and political foresight and Petur Tanchev, the former secretary of the BZNS who was dismissed from his post at the end of last year for being "degradingly servile to Todor Zhivkov." He called upon the delegates to make a total break with the legacy of the totalitarian regime and to turn the 36th Congress into a forum of revival and unity.

The secretary of the BZNS hinted that the leaders of the "competition," the Nikola Petkov BZNS, have an emotional approach and recall old sorrows and insults, thus impeding the attempts at the merger of the two organizations before the elections. I hope that wisdom and common sense will prevail, he said.

Mr. Angel Dimitrov expressed his party's categorical support for private initiative, first of all in agriculture which should play the role of "an engine for pulling the country out of the quagmire of the crisis." The forthcoming agrarian reform should return the land to its owners or their heirs and give land to everybody who wants to cultivate it. The BZNS insists that "the town should pay off its debt to the countryside" by definitely improving the credit, the taxation and the pricing policy.

"People's rule, cooperative activity and enlightenment of the working people" are the basic principles laid down in the programme of the BZNS, which will fight for strong local self-management, a multiparty system and a democratic law-ruled state in which human rights and socio-economic prosperity will be guaranteed.

Mr. Dimitrov proposed to make the republic a presidential one, the president being electable directly by the people; to revoke capital punishment, to form a coalition after the free parliamentary elections which, in his view, will lead to "dramatic changes in the political map." He expressed the readiness of the BZNS to cooperate with other political forces before and after the elections, but only as an independent and equal partner.

The BZNS is for Bulgaria's maintaining lasting peaceful neighbourly relations with the neighbouring countries and it is against any challenges for armed conflicts. The BZNS is a sincere supporter of the world initiative for establishing independent international legal relations and an institution which will make it impossible to harm, Mr. Angel Dimitrov said.

Drenchev Acclaimed, Booed

AU2702171590 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Our reporting team which is covering the 36th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS] has reported on the difficult beginning of the afternoon session.

The session began with a report on the work and tasks of the BZNS Control-Auditing Commission, after which the congress continued with speeches by delegates, who sharply raised issues relating to the land ownership question, the BZNS's agrarian policy, and tax legislation.

Rising to their feet, the delegates greeted with shouts for unity the speech made by Milan Drenchev, chairman of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian National Agrarian Union. His was the most dramatic speech, and the most dramatic moment in today's session of the congress. Although greeted with ovations, even in the middle of his speech, he was also whistled, booed, and threatened with being thrown off the platform. This happened when Milan Drenchev raised the issue of the BZNS's responsibility for the deep economic crisis of the Bulgarian countryside and the profound social and moral crisis of our state. No one has condemned his own past, he said, and no one has assumed responsibility for the crisis. At this moment Milan Drenchev ran the risk of indeed being thrown off the platform by the angry delegates. However, five minutes later the hall was again filled with stormy applause and cries of: Unity, Unity Now! The calamity that has caused our name to be besmirched is what unites us, Milan Drenchev continued, everything depends on us and on you.

At this moment a 30-minute rest break was announced, but the delegates did not leave the hall and raised shoulder-high the chairman of the Nikola Petkov BZNS. The congress is expected to resume its session at any moment.

Debate on Merger

AU2702210990 Sofia BTA in English 1854 GMT 27 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 27 (BTA)—The leader of the Nikola Petkov BZNS [Bulgarian National Agrarian Union], Mr. Milan Drenchev, delivered a speech at the 36th Extraordinary BZNS Congress. He said that his party is ready to unite with the BZNS on condition that the "formal" Agrarian Party dismisses the activists connected with the totalitarian regime.

The disgraced and corrupted must go, Mr. Drenchev said. He underlined that if the congress makes the right decisions, the conditions for the unification of the two agrarian parties into a united BZNS will be created.

The response to Mr. Drenchev's speech was contradictory applause, hissings and chanting "unity now."

The predominant theme in the speeches was the unity of the Agrarians.

Lashing criticism was leveled against the leaders of the two Agrarian Parties who, according to many of the speakers, are the main obstacle to the unification of the parties. One lady delegate said: "If we want to unite we should forget past insults and present ambitions for power." BZNS Secretary and State Council First Vice President Angel Dimitrov was criticized for being inert and indecisive. It was proposed that the BZNS should withdraw from all bodies of state power and go into "constructive opposition."

The Nikola Petkov BZNS was accused of splitting activities. The Nikola Petkov BZNS is setting up parallel local organizations which unite the enemies of the BZNS, stated a delegate from northern Bulgaria. He blamed the Nikola Petkov BZNS leader Milan Drenchev for using "a dictatorial approach," because he opposed the unification of the Agrarians in the cities of Shumen and Varna.

Some speakers questioned the authority of Milan Drenchev to make a decision for the unification of the Agrarian Parties without having consulted the Union of Democratic Forces, of which the Nikola Petkov BZNS is a member.

Anyway, in the evening a contact group was set up to discuss the problem of the merger of the two parties.

Opening Session Proceedings Noted

AU0203144090

[Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 28 Feburary 1990 carries on pages 1-6 extensive material totalling 27,000 words on the proceedings of the 27 February opening session of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union's [BZNS] 36th

Extraordinary Congress, under the headline: "Loyal to Aleksandur Stamboliyski—With New Self-Confidence and Noble Aspirations."

A 4,000-word report on pages 1,4, and 6 by a team of ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME reporters provides the agenda of the congress which reads as follows:

1. Report of the BZNS Adminstrative Council entitled: "The BZNS—Reborn, Independent, United."
2. Report on the activities and tasks of the BZNS Control-Auditing Commission.
3. Adoption of the BZNS Program.
4. Adoption of the 36th BZNS Statute.
5. Adoption of an appeal of the 36th BZNS Extraoridnary Congress.
6. Election of a chairman (secretary) and leading organs of the BZNS and of a BZNS Control Auditing Commission.

The report on the proceedings confirms the evaluation that "from the very beginning it was evident that the congress would not proceed smoothly," and describing the initial controversies about "manipulations in connection with the election of delegates in Sofia and the provinces" which reportedly delayed the opening of the congress for about 30 minutes. The report adds that the first session was chaired by Ivan Velichkov, delegate from Plovdiv. It lists the names of delegates who took the floor at the first session and provides brief summaries on their statements. The controversial statement of Milan Drenchev, chairman of the BZNS-Nikola Petkov provisional leadership is summarized in 400 words and is described as extremely contradictory and "inconsistent."

The 20,000-word apparent text of the BZNS Administrative Council report, read by BZNS Secretary Angel Dimitrov, is published on pages 1,2,3, and 4. The report is divided into the following chapters:

1. Historical Path of the BZNS and Bulgaria's Development.
2. The Party of Aleksandur Stamboliyski in the Country's Political System.
3. For Radical Renewal of BZNS Policy.
4. Our Economic and Ecological Policy.
5. On Our Contribution to the Nation's Social and Intellectual Upsurge.
6. What Foreign Policy Does the BZNS Support?

The first portion of the report is devoted to the past, to the BZNS' progressive traditions, inherited from its founder Aleksandur Stamboliyski, supporting the rehabilitation of Nikola Petkov and other "repressed" BZNS figures, and denouncing former leader Petur Tanchev for his "humiliating servility" in relations with Todor Zhivkov.

The second portion deals with the present situation expressing the stand of the BZNS in "favor of parliamentary democracy based on a society whose material and intellectual needs are satisfied." The report stresses the BZNS's support for a "broadly representative government of national consensus," and explains the union's role at the roundtable talks as "as a constructive and active factor striving for a prompt solution of the urgent problems facing the country." Dwelling on relations with the Nikola Petkov group, the report emphasizes the urgent requirement for unity, calling for "realism and wisdom" and frequently referring to the traditions of the past, pointing out that "the United Agrarians have always succeeded in achieving their unity at historical moments of decisive importance."

The chapter on the BZNS's economic and ecological policy pleads for the "rebirth of the village" and points out that "a market economy, which we consider the appropriate method of overcoming the trends of stagnation in our economic sector, demands the full development of all forms of ownership," including the private and cooperative sectors.

The last chapter dealing with foreign policy stresses the BZNS's readiness for cooperation with all countries in East and West, expressing "our critical re-assessement and renunciation of the prejudices and cliches of the past" and pointing out the advantages of economic and cultural cooperation with "the United States and other Western democracies." The BZNS report pleads for "restoring Bulgaria's diplomatic relations with Israel and Chile, and for establishing new relations with South Korea."

A 3,000-word apparent text of the BZNS Control-Auditing Commission's report is published on page 5. It was read by Commission Chairman Lyuben Stefanov. The report is divided into the three following chapters:

I. On the Activities of the Control-Auditing Commission Over the Past Four Years.

II. On the Activities of the Control-Auditing Commission in Connection With Implementing the BZNS Budget.

III. On Some Basic Tasks of Control in the Future.

The first chapter refers to past shortcomings of the commission in "applying command-administrative methods" and pledges that "certain changes in the style, methods, and forms of union control will be implemented in the future with the intention of making this control more topical, more systematic, comprehensive and—above all—preventive."

The chapter on the budget deals with the union's membership fees and expenditures, while the last chapter on "future control activities" promises improvements in the work of the control-auditing commission, aimed at greater independence of the local unions in the spirit of general "democratization."

Debate on Uniting With Opposition

AU2802191790 Sofia BTA in English 1834 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 28 (BTA)—An agreement in principle on the unification of the two agrarian parties is being discussed at the 36th Extraordinary Congress of the official Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS) and will be probably finalized by midnight.

A debate is going on on the convocation of a forum in Sofia on March 24 at which the official and the opposition Agrarian Parties should adopt a statute, a programme and an election platform and should elect a leadership of the United Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

The 36th Congress voted in favour of the BZNS's withdrawal from the Fatherland Front, thus meeting one of the crucial conditions set by the opposition Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party for their unification. At the same time, the congress approved by an overwhelming majority a condition that the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party leave the Union of Democratic Forces before the unification.

Today's agenda includes an election of an interim BZNS leadership to carry on the unification preparations together with a representative of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party.

Failure To Unite; Vulkov Elected

AU0103200790 Sofia BTA in English 1910 GMT 1 Mar 90

["Problems of Agrarians' Unity"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, March 1 (BTA)—The in-principle agreement on the unification of Agrarians was short-lived; it lasted less than 24 hours. Today the national leadership of the Nikola Petkov Bulgarian Agrarian Party (the Nikola Petkov BZNS) published a declaration which states that the leadership "has nothing to do with the agreement proclaimed by the Bulgarian Agrarian Party (BZNS)."

The declaration affirms that the Nikola Petkov BZNS remains loyal to the opposition Union of Democratic Forces (UDF) and points out that the announcement about having reached a unity agreement is not true.

The national leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS accuses the BZNS of "making an inadmissible and dictatorial demand on the Nikola Petkov BZNS to leave the UDF" and points out that the 36th Extraordinary Congress of the BZNS has not confirmed the authority of the BZNS contact group to negotiate the unification of the two Agrarian parties.

A representative of the national leadership of the Nikola Petkov BZNS stated to the BTA that in actual fact the declaration puts an end to any activity aimed at the unification of the two parties, but another leadership source denied it, saying that it is too early to say what turn the developments may take later. Now and in the future the efforts of the Nikola Petkov BZNS will be aimed at the unification of the two parties on a principled agrarian basis, the source said.

According to the same source, it is possible that on his own initiative State Council President Petur Mladenov may have a meeting with the leader of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, Mr. Milan Drenchev.

The new chairman of the BZNS, Mr. Viktor Vulkov, accepted the news about the declaration in cool blood. Today, after he was elected to this post by the 36th BZNS Congress, he gave a press conference. A few minutes ago I spoke with Milan Drenchev over the phone, but there was no mention of the declaration, Mr. Vulkov said. He noted that the question of the unification is so delicate that any rash evaluations would do a lot of harm. In his view the unification will take place because that is what all Agrarians wish, no matter which of the two Agrarian parties they are members of.

Answering a question of the BTA representative, Mr. Vulkov said that no time limit for the Nikola Petkov BZNS's leaving the UDF has been fixed, but this problem will probably be discussed at the conference of the party on March 17. This question will be inevitably raised at the forthcoming unification forum of the two parties scheduled for March 24, if it really takes place, the chairman of the BZNS said.

Viktor Vulkov was born in 1936 and until recently he was secretary of the BZNS Standing Committee at the National Assembly. He is a diplomaed engineer.

Today the 36th BZNS Congress adopted the programme and the statute of the party.

The main target of the BZNS is to establish a democratic parliamentary state in Bulgaria, to build an intellectually elevated and prosperous society consisting of free and legally protected personalities enjoying equal rights, it is said in the programme, in which there is no mention of socialism.

The BZNS declares itself to be for a multiparty system, a democratic state committed to the rule of law, for a market economy and equality of all forms of property. It calls for using private initiative for the stabilization of the economy and the prosperity of Bulgaria.

The programme proposes a package of measures for the stabilization of agriculture through taxation and credit facilities, increasing purchase prices, etc.

The BZNS states its views on the anti-crisis programme which should be combined with a social policy aimed at the protection of people within the lowest income bracket, on the settlement of the ecological problems in the country and so on.

The statute defines the BZNS as a democratic party which acts in strict compliance with the Constitution and the law of the country.

The 36th Extraordinary Congress is expected to end later tonight after the BZNS leading bodies are elected.

Further on 2d Day of Congress

AU0703080890

[Editorial Report] Sofia ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME in Bulgarian on 1 March on pages 1, 2, and 3 carries the following materials concerning the 36th Extraordinary Congress of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BZNS]:

1. On pages 1 and 2, a 5,000-word report, with photographs, by a four-man team of journalists of the proceedings of the second day of the congress, entitled "Congress of Revival, Congress of Unity."

2. On page 1, the 500-word text of the "Agreement" on unification of the BZNS and the rival Nikola Petkov BZNS.

3. On page 3, the 750-word "Report of the Mandate Commission" of the congress.

4. On page 1, a 500-word editorial entitled "Common Sense Prevails."

5. On page 3, a 900-word article by Ivan Vulov, "journalist and writer," entitled "A Voice From the Hall."

The first report describes in detail the second day of "the stormy debates on establishing the revived BZNS as an independent political force and on its role and place in the country's socioeconomic life." According to the report, the morning session commenced with the election of the oblast BZNS representatives in the contact group for maintaining relations with the rival Nikola Petkov BZNS. Further proceedings were stormy and confused because of the great number of delegates trying to obtain permission to speak, so that the first speaker, Iliya Zaykov, could hardly make himself heard over the interruptions. The report continues with summaries of speeches by various delegates, among whom Danail Danov evoked a storm of support for his proposal that "the BZNS should leave the Fatherland Front, which is discredited through its entire activity," and that "the BZNS should also leave all levels of state power." The report notes the adoption of the mandate commission's report and then describes the subsequent tempestuous debate over the issue of union with the rival Nikola Petkov BZNS, which remained unresolved at the lunch interval. According to the report, the contact groups of the two unions were instructed to continue their efforts to reach an agreement, and then to present it to the congress for discussion and voting.

The afternoon session continued, the report states, with a great variety of speeches and proposals, among other things, for democratic changes in the BZNS organization and encouraging privatization in order to stimulate agricultural land use. The report states that the second half of the afternoon session was entirely devoted to a debate on the agreement reached with the contact group of the Nikola Petkov BZNS, in which the main stumbling block was the membership of the rival Agrarian Party in the Union of Democratic Forces. The report concludes with a brief note on the evening session "behind closed doors," during which the congress "adopted in principle the agreement of the contact groups" on uniting the two Agrarian Unions, and then "continued its work on electing the chairman (secretary), Administrative Council and Control-Auditing Commission of the BZNS."

The "Agreement" on uniting the two Agrarian Unions published on page 1 (which in fact was only adopted in principle), states in Article 1 that "today, 28 February 1990, the BZNS and the Nikola Petkov BZNS combine in a united Bulgarian National Agrarian Union." Article 3 states that "a National Unification Conference will be held at 0900 on 24 March 1990...in Sofia, with the participation of the supreme union councils and the contact groups of the two organizations," with the purpose of adopting the BZNS Statute, Program, and election platform and electing the leading organs. The "Agreement" is signed by the members of the contact groups of the two Agrarian Unions and is dated 28 February 1990.

The "Report of the Mandate Commission" on page 3 states that 2,643 delegates were elected to the BZNS Congress, of which 2,609 attended and took part. The rest of the report analyzes the social and professional background of the delegates and their age distribution, on the basis of which the Mandate Commission finds that "the congress is a broadly representative and competent forum with properly elected delegates."

The editorial on page one notes that "the BZNS Congress did not prove an exception, because "a purge, as the more radical forces call it, did take place," and "no one has remained of those who for many long years held posts, albeit elected, in the leadership." The editorial then looks forward to the election of the new leadership on 1 March, noting that "those whom the majority will elect to lead the union's ranks will also assume the great responsibility for carrying through the merger" of the two Agrarian Unions. The editorial makes a strong plea for this unification, pointing out that "with no difference in ideologies, the BZNS and Nikola Petkov BZNS, as parts of the flesh of the same body, have lived under the same sky, with one and the same symbols, with one and the same sacred names," and noting that "whereas on the first day of the congress emotions gained the upper hand over the thirst for union, on the second day the blood ties had their say." In conclusion, the editorial comments that the agreement in principle on unification worked out by the two contact groups is already a fait accompli, and "it only remains for common sense to prevail."

The article on page 3 by journalist and writer Ivan Vulov is largely an attack on members of the former BZNS leadership. Vulov first compares the present "mutual accusations, delayed shedding of crocodile tears, and attempts to cast the blame on one another" between the two opposing Agrarian Unions with the dissensions that occurred in the Bulgarian Agrarian Union in 1918 under Aleksandur Stamboliyski. He criticizes "those delegates, like Pelin Pelinov, who are trying to further entangle Gordian knots, in order to cut them later with careerist motives." "This is false and unworthy," says Vulov, "because all these people bargained last November with Petur Tanchev for power and for posts in the union's publications." Having attacked Pelin Pelinov, one of the current candidates for the BZNS secretary's post, Vulov continues by attacking Milena Stamboliyska (who made an emotional speech at the congress on 28 February, demonstratively resigning from membership of the BZNS leadership in order to make way for new blood), noting that "the blood ties with Petur Tanchev and the provocative attempts of Comrade Milena Stamboliyska are obstructing the reflexes of the new union leadership, which are slow enough in any case." Vulov also comments that "Angel Dimitrov is experiencing a severe crisis, having been shot dead at almost point-blank range by Petur Tanchev, through the latter proposing him for election as BZNS secretary." Vulov then lists a number of BZNS figures who suffered in previous years at the hands of the former leadership, also mentioning "the hounding of myself and my brother Bogomil Vulov by the former BZNS leaders Georgi Traykov and Petur Tanchev."

Government Decree on Encouraging Agriculture

AU1602220990 Sofia BTA in English 2051 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—The government announced having taken concrete practical measures in implementation of its declaration to the National Assembly on the creation of conditions for the strengthening and development of agriculture. A decree has been adopted on increasing extras and paying bonuses for buying up products of stock breeding in order to make up for the increase of prices of combined forages and stimulate the growth of animal products. The prices at which animal products will be bought up from public and individual farms are equalized.

The additional amount allotted by the state budget to cover the extras and bonuses come up to about 120 million leva.

Lukanov: Priority Concern

AU1602221090 Sofia BTA in English 2117 GMT 16 Feb 90

[Text] Sofia, February 16 (BTA)—At a press conference held today Mr. Andrey Lukanov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, pointed out that the most painful problem which should be made a primacy is the development of agriculture. The Council of Ministers has already adopted some important decisions to ensure normal work in farming this spring and to promote individual and private initiative in agriculture. A specialized bank is set up to help individual and private farmers and leaseholders by granting credits at an interest rate of 2.5 per cent. Farmers will be given maximum freedom of choice in the realization of their products, including direct negotiations with processing enterprises and free going out into the market.

The journalists were familiarized with the problems on the solution to which the government will work next week.

Mr. Andrey Lukanov said that the anti-crisis programme of the government is not worked out to cover just a few months but the whole year. The purpose is to make it acceptable for the government which will come into power after the elections.

This is a question of our national survival, the chairman of the Council of Ministers said. Bulgaria can make a progress only by yielding high-quality products which will be competitive in the international market.

Student Leader Popovic Threatens 'Strike Alert'

LD0503190290 Bratislava Domestic Service in Slovak 1130 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] It seemed in the last few weeks that students, after they went back to their colleges, somehow disappeared from our political scene. The following interview granted to editor Igor Matlon by Anton Popovic, chairman of the Organizational Committee of the Students' Union of Slovakia, shows that it is not so:

[Begin recording] [Matlon] We hear about dissatisfaction among our students, mainly with the development of the political situation.

[Popovic] There is dissatisfaction, and I think it is justified because our main demand was to abolish the leading role of the Communist Party. This is why we demonstrated, and not for being later manipulated by its tricks and its effort to preserve itself and become mobilized. I went to eastern Slovakia with government representatives and also Jan Budaj, a leading representative of the Public Against Violence. We observed there that these [words indistinct] structures are maintained, and unfortunately also mobilized. I think that above all it is necessary that the cadre policy is carried out in such a way that communists do not have the most important posts, also because the Communist Party, which currently speaks the most about democracy, is the party which is the least equipped for it, as it suppressed the democratic principle for 40 years.

[Matlon] I have also heard that you want to declare a state of strike alert. Is this true?

[Popovic] In such a political atmosphere radical changes are necessary, and if they do not occur mainly as regards representation, whether in national committees or even in the Slovak National Council, where they still maintain their position, we are willing and able to declare the state of strike alert.

[Matlon] Are you afraid that the student movement is not as unified today as it was in November?

[Popovic] The student movement is currently being mobilized by the creation of a student parliament, and by the creation of the Student Union of Slovakia, which was formed from the revolutionary structures of coordination committees. We know the situation at Slovak universities, and we are in touch with Czech universities, too. Although we have become much weaker by [words indistinct] yet in this political situation we do not want to stay aloof. [end recording]

Pithart Addresses Czech National Council

LD0503232490 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1800 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Speech by Czech Premier Petr Pithart delivering the Czech Government report on the state of the sectors and territories administered by the Czech Government at Czech National Council session in Prague on 5 March—recorded]

[Text] It is less than a week since we were able to hear the report on the state of the Federation, which was delivered to the Federal Assembly by Premier Marian Calfa. It is now up to us, the Czech Government, to deliver to you and the whole of the Bohemian and Moravian public the report on the state of the Czech Republic.

At the very begining I must point out two differences between the report on the state of the Federation and the report on the state of the Czech Republic. It will be limited only to the outline of the current state of the Czech Republic. Today, I will not be offering you a way out, or as it is called today, the scenario of reform steps and the measures which correspond to them. I will not do this for two reasons. First, we think that the Bohemian and Moravian public should have enough time to acquaint themselves with this report and to think through what emerges from it. It we did not provide this time, it would mean that we were not taking things seriously.

Second, the Czech Government is still not definitively clear about the chronology of reform steps and their tempo. This is a political question, particularly for the government, the legitimacy of which is derived from a legislative assembly which did not come from democratic elections and which is therefore itself, shall we say, conditionally legitimate. The question of the tempo of reforms must therefore be an expression of general political concensus. it is not possible to undertake reforms without the support of the public. We are a government which is in a way younger than the federal government, so we have a little time left, but not very long. But we will not under any circumstances come before the Czech National Council, and thus before the Bohemian and Moravian public, with a draft of the timetable of reform steps earlier than a month from now.

There are over 10 million of us living on the territory of Bohemia and Moravia, of which almost 6 million are of a productive age. There are over two million women employed, which is 45 percent of all women, and almost three quarters of women of a productive age. We gave them equal rights, really without question. In Austria the percentage of women in employement is 12 percent lower. Our high percentage of employed people includes also our youth, who were not able in the necessary numbers to study. At the same time there are only 8.5 percent of university graduates working in our national economy. This is too small a percentage to move toward a highly developed society.

Reformers of the socialist education system previously stated that they wanted to give an equal right to education for everyone. In fact, they indirectly denied education to many; and moreover, this equal opportunity developed into a unified method, unified standard, and unified orientation—which, toward the end, only produced planned numbers for individual fields of activities and professions. It was neither a general education toward humanism, and thinking, and developing talents, nor differentiating care, but performing according to patern of the curriculum which all the time was being extended and changed. Creative, free activity of teachers was being consistently suppressed, many exceptional personalities from among students and teachers were often excluded, and this lasted several generations. The education system damaged students and their teachers—professionally and morally. At the university level there was more memorization than creative thinking, the ability to express thoughts effectively and defend them forcefully in discussion. Eleven percent of education time was earmarked for Marxism-Leninism.

The value of higher education was generally devalued in social terms, and at the same time the value of really high quality education, vocational education in workers' and craftsmen's jobs, was greatly underestimated. The moral, aesthetic and physical elements of education were being neglected. The exclusion of male teachers from education had rather a deforming influence on, above all, younger pupils: Seventy-five percent of teachers now are women. Another thing which cannot be ignored is our schools' technical equipment. It is lagging behind the times in both condition and low level of effectiveness. Only 5.5 percent of our national income was given to education—which elsewhere is considered a necessary and advantageous investment.

The situation at so-called special schools is alarming: Lack of classroom space, lack of experts in the field, lack of advisory centers for parents, and above all failure to secure the transfer of pupils from these schools to jobs, thereby sentencing them to permanent disability.

Not enough establishments were constructed in our country to educate citizens in the course of their lifetime with the task of preparing them for any changes in their work. The old regime considered such changes dangerous and undesirable.

Nevertheless, there is a need to point out that there were and are teachers who resisted the pressure of the education system. It is thanks to them that many young people sought and found their place in life, and were able to orientate themselves in practical and moral questions.

The family is of course the first and decisive factor of upbringing. In all industrial societies the traditional patriarchal family has changed. In a totalitarian society, however, the family is (?forced by external pressures) to a change [word indistinct]. Men are given a wage which is insufficient for feeding the family. The employment of women has not become a matter of choice, but a necessity for existance. Many children have thus been left to the care of nurseries, nursery schools, and after-school clubs. After the working day, when the family comes together, it is simply overcome by fatigue. Even more traumatic for the family in villages was the so-called socialization of the village, which meant the liquidation of family farms. The same applies to hundreds of thousands of family businesses and [word indistinct]

Family cohesion was often a result of a defensive reaction to pressures from outside, a form of defiance, an attempt to create a defensible intimate space, and to give it the form of a jointly created work, the cottage, the garden, [word indistinct]. Such a retreat into privacy, however, was not in itself a sufficient element of cohesion. The children did not always find moral support within it against the disentegrating pressures of a totalitarian regime. The traditional good Czech family was weakened. We have also found this in the growth of the divorce rate. In 1987 there was one divorce per 2.7 marriages. The number of divorces has doubled in the past 13 years. In 1986, 23,500 children in the Czech Republic lost one of their parents as a result of divorce. The younger generations had great difficulty in finding a refuge in the family, they had great difficulty in finding an impressive model for the creation of their own family.

Many parents were aware, however, of their responsibility for the upbringing of their children. They attempted to uphold and renew the family order, often on the basis of a religious or other moral code, and thus to annull the influence of hypocricy and opportunism which their children had to face in the outside world.

In the same way as in the family, many were looking for possibilities of making their presence felt at work. It was a good tradition in our country to look for one's place through action, in creating for oneself and others, so that something lives on after us. Man does not live so that he can work well, but works so that he can live well. In the last 50 years, however, there was very little space where this need could be fulfilled. Even the beginning of our so-called building was unhappy. First, in the fifties, whole strata of the nation were deprived of the means of production in industry, small businesses, and agriculture. People were shunted from the village into industry, from administration to production, from central parts of the country to border regions. They were torn from their environment and their professions. Only a few inhabitants were allowed to work according to what they could and wanted to do.

The loss of continuity of work, the breakup of work collectives, the interference in traditional production programs, integration by force—all this led to the weakening of motivation, which was even strengthened by the wage-rate levelling. The basic ancient cause of the fact that we all go to work but not to work there, was the loss of the feeling of ownership both of the tools with which we work and the results of our work. The true owner was the party, the state. The certificate of qualification of every worker was above all to what extent he corresponded to the requirements of this owner. And it was more and more common, as a result, that people who were personally incompetent and professionally ignorant got into the most imnportant management posts. The power of the single owner was strengthened and enabled by the centralized system of management.

The need for useful and purposeful work was applied with great resolve. It was often accompanied with risk, and often with unnecessary efforts unmatched by the results. The great creative potential of Czech labor brought some exceptional results, too, in top class technologies. Some examples include products from the sphere of textile and metal processing machinery, the development and production of contact lenses, artificial replacement joints, electronic microscopes, and so on. Unfortunately, the end effect for society was frequently nothing.

At the end of the sixties, Czechoslovakia was among the countries with the shortest working hours in Europe. Nowadays, an average annual vacation in our country is 15-20 days, and we have six public holidays. For comparison, in neighboring Austria, a vacation is 25-30 days, and they have 11 public holidays. At the same time all of us are aware of the situation in our country with regard to the observation of working hours. I will not lecture here about idling; many plants are forced to stand idle and have to catch up by working overtime. Work of this kind, however, loses its own purpose. The question today is not only how work is losing its value and honor, but first and foremost how to return to the people the work which is the fulfillment of our life.

But the past regime also created a false and distorting notion of the standard of living. This means a standard of that which is yielded by our (?strictly) managed activity. Let's then focus on this indicator which served as a yardstick for measuring the past regime in power. The standard of living was perceived above all as a function of the necessary supply to the population in foodstuffs. The state power learned that sufficiency in foodstuffs is a condition of its stability. The statistics show that the foodstuffs consumption has, indeed, grown in the 40 years after 1948. It increased in meat by 288 percent, in eggs by 268 percent, in sugar by 170 percent, in milk by 134 percent. However, in the case of fruit it grew by only 9 percent and the consumption of vegetables, on the contrary, dropped by (?74 percent). We rank in one of the highest positions in the world for the consumption of beer, and we are in fifth place for (?spirits) consumption. We seemingly have enough food. But we do not have enough long-life foodstuffs, and mainly our food contains many damaging agents and has an unhealthy structure. In particular, with regard to the composition of our dishes, and with regard to the proportion of animal and plant proteins, we are slowly acquiring a unique place in the world. The loss of the overall immunity of our population as a result of the (?virtually) generally worsened conditions of life due to this composition represents a far greated risk than AIDS. It is the most dangerous time bomb (?in people's lives).

Production was aimed at quantity, not quality. Apart from this there is a shortage of nonfoodstuff goods worth 40 billion korunas a year. In fact there exists nothing for which we would not have to shop without effort, because goods are never available at a particular place and time, or where and when they are needed. It is from this that bribe-taking and the shadow economy have developed and continue to develop.

Immediately after food, it is housing which is the most important component of the standard of living. At the beginning of the eighties there were 340 apartments per 1,000 people in our country; in Austria it was 405. The average utility area for apartments is 67 square meters in our country; 97 square meters in Austria. Of all apartments built in the Czech Republic in the last 20 years, 83 percent are of prefabricated construction, mostly impersonal barrack-like and unpleasant residential areas, where a way of living in a mass anonymity has developed. It is a way of life which surpresses development of personalities. The housing stock has been neglected, its maintenance debt amounts in the Czech Republic to around 36 billion korunas. Although it is well known that in comparison with the CEMA states our standard of living is quite high, our relative decline is perhaps worst of all, because our economic standard 40 years ago was uncomparably higher. We pay for it also by working in bad conditions, by using outdated machinery, and running the economy on debt. It is both an external debt—caused by subsidies to more expensive goods imported from elsewhere—and an internal debt, caused by transfering money from other branches of our national economy. [passage indistinct] Our indebtedness to the weak, old, and ill people is totally clear. Even given our disproportionately low criteria, tens of thousands of pensioners—perhaps enthusiastic builders of socialism in the 1950's among them—are living below the poverty line.

Living standards have to be correctly understood as something above this, represented by general conditions of work and life, the quality of the environment, use of free time [words indistinct]. It is to be measured by what is the whole, the character of our home. Culture is another thing which makes our life more gentle and beautiful, gives us more inner harmony, and on the other hand thrills us. It was characteristic for the former power structures that it considered culture to be just its instrument, giving it ideological and propaganda tasks, and measured its quality according to the measure it served to the party and state policy. There was not one single part of culture which had the opportunity to develop continuously without interruption in the entire course of the past 40 years. Some parts of culture, especially those involving the memory of a nation and taking part in determining its cultural wealth, are in poor states: Above all our precious monuments, which are in state of decay—entire historical centers of towns, historical libraries and archives left to be eaten by damp and mold; pretentious palaces of culture are standing besides them as warning exclamations.

On the other hand, the development of culture shows well at the same time in the nations's ability to protect itself against the power structures. Permanent pressure strengthened culture in its principal task: To refuse to agree, to wake voices of conscience in the effort to break off control and chains. The power state policy artificially divided Czech culture to three streams which were not supposed ever to meet each other: official works, works which were being suppresed, and works done in exile. Real artists knew throughout the period that culture can be only one, either good or bad.

Cuts in funds for culture caused damage not only by culture going barren, but also by decline of general taste, impoverishment of the inner world of readers, viewers and listeners. The development of language was distorted, the link between our creativity and the world was paralyzed. Totalitarian power always claimed that culture was developing and growing more powerful under its care. It exemplified this by large editions of poor works, high attendance rates for mediocre performances, and by the numbers of broadcast hours or kilometers travelled in tours. Indeed, the funds spent on culture were not low. But the fact was characteristic that culture itself did not have them at its disposal, that they were at the disposal of an allocation center, which by the financial evaluation expressed first and foremost the degree and evaluation of ideological confirmation and subservience. Despite this, the artists who carried through the most difficult period the awareness of the value of man and his freedom, of human and national responsibility and pride, thus brought an important contribution to the fall of the old power.

The end objective of their policy, of their plans and policies, was supposed to have been man. And as is known, health is man's greatest treasure. How then was this treasure (?cared for)? Up to the year 1960 it seemed that the united health care system of various facilities and free medical care (?was successful). Mortality was going down and some diseases were surpressed. But as soon as, due to the exhaustion of extensive sources, the conditions of work and the environment grew worse, and with it also the state of health of the population, health care began to seriously lag behind in technical, organizational, and moral respects. Health care, which in itself is capable of influencing the health of the population by 20 percent only, had beocme a burden rather than an active means for preserving and developing the health of society.

It was all the more incapable of responding to the growing needs for prevention. Through the influence of administrative and nomenclature measures, the independent role and authority of a doctor had been reduced. The feeling of powerlessness of health care employees was growing. They were losing the possibility of making a free decision based on their professional skills, and thus also the possibility to carry out their own work.

The regime, which organized the destruction of the environment, also began to supress all information about it (?at the time) when its consequencies were also seen in people's health. It was directly influencing the work of public health services. Despite this, it was precisely from the medical circles from which a learned and critical voice first came. In brief, here is just one example. Since mid-sixties, the mortality rate of the older population has been rising, the average age has been dropping, and the illness rate has been, on the whole, rising. Since 1970, and until 1985, the illness rate of men rose by 30 percent and of women by 47 percent per 1,000 persons. The population in the Czech lands is older in comparison with Slovakia; our motality is higher, the abortion rate and the occurrence of malignant tumors are also higher. We have more diabetes sufferers, more veneral diseases, and higher sick leave caused either by sickness or injury.

The point here is that the situation affects the weakest and the persons who are most in need, the worst. The number of permanently disabled people has grown to 500,000, and society has so far not been paying any attention. It is difficult to be healthy in an unhealthy environment. Nature is at our feet, and specialists claim that its ability to absorb liquid and gaseous production waste has already been exceeded. Even if we were able to stop the growth of this pollution today—and we know that we cannot manage this immediately—the damage will still be growing for several more years. But is is our atmosphere which is most damaged. All of you are now able to follow periodically the data which was until recently kept secret. The situation with regard to water is just as bad. We are releasing into Vltava almost unpurified sewage; we continue to build a number of residential areas without sewage plants. Even some major industrial enterprises do not have their own sewage plants. But most dangerous now is the pollution caused by the sources which are difficult to monitor, such as farming, waste disposal sites, (?timber) products, and chemical agent storages. This pollution also affects underground waters, and this is almost irreparable. The present state of processing drinking water is unable to remove certain chemicals. In addition to this, we are continually and in a noisy manner producing goods which are directly ecologically harmful, because they themself burden their vicinity with excessive noise and with their containing dangerous and carcinogenic agents, such as formaldehyde, asbestos, chlorinated derivatives, and heavy metals.

We are wasting construction and industrial raw materials. We are pointlessly using good quality raw materials for the purposes of second rate importance. There is no order in the slag heaps, where we cast without careful selection, even such accompanying raw materials which we shall not be able to make use of in the future. Our country is plagued by tens of thousands of illegal waste dumping sites, of which many can become dangerous hotbeds of pollution of the atmosphere, soil, water, flora, and fauna. These ecological crises affect today already more or less our entire republic. It affects Bohemia and Moravia more than it affects Slovakia. The reason is that one dreadful change has occurred inconspicuously in front of us over the forty years: The whole country has changed into a chaotic, disorganized and dirty workshop. In a sensless pursuit of ever higher production, especially in heavy industry, regardless of quality and even without fear from the possible consequences of its behavior, large-scale industrial and agricultural production has treated nature almost exceptionally as an inexhaustible source, not as the only host environment suitable for life. And what is the result? Soil errosion threatens approximately 55 percent of agricultural land; 60 percent of all soils are acid; the chemically and biologically affected soil produces food detrimental to health; animal species are becoming extinct; serious genetic changes in farm animals, and also in man, are appearing.

Forests are damaged to the extent that soon they will be endangered throughout the territory, and in the northern third of the country they may disappear altogether. Today, all of us often speak about ecological damage. We now know where it comes from, that it can be prevented, that it will not be possible from one day to the next, and that it will require great expenditure. But that is not all. Above all we will have to change our own lack of concern for nature, to understand ourselves as a part, as a debtor who in an irresponsible way destroys the foundation of his own existence. How could such a situation arise? Where are its roots? After all, no one, not even the Communist Party, wanted or planned such a thing, and despite this, today we stand over the unhappy results of its present account.

The Communist Party acquired its leading position in our country immediately after the war. On the whole, today we are all aware of the domestic and foreign influences which contributed to it. The primary and absolutely overriding true goal of the Czechoslovak Communist Party from the very beginning up to the present day was the building and strengthening of totalitarian power. In following this goal the Communists understood very well that the full implementation of this power is only possible by centralized economic means. The absolute exclusion of private ownership as the so-called basis of the exploitation of man by man, and the stiff centralism in all spheres of the life of society destroyed market relations and severed interconnections. Above all they fogged the criteria for what is and isn't beneficial and purposeful for the life of the country. The more the reality of our life in a totalitarian system parted company with the proclaimed ideological goals, the more necessary was the battle with the imaginary class enemy, bourgeois remnants, revisionists, low awareness, world imperialism, dissidents and the misguided, and so on and so on. Gradually almost all of us forgot about the role of the economy.

Before the war Bohemia and Moravia were among the economically developed countries. Together with Austria they were in the top third of the European development table. It is well known that in the old Austria-Hungary up to 1918 they had a [word indistinct] dominant economic standing. The breakup of this empire represented for us and for the new Austria an existential crisis. After the First World War Austria found itself without significant, and in particular, heavy industry, and Czech industry lost in Austria a decisively important market. In 1938 we were ahead of Austria in the overall standard of living; in 1968 we had a comparable standard; and in 1988 our standard of living was at least one third lower. Let us take a brief look at the lines of economic fall and rise, and how they can be logically divergent. Between 1948-88 the share of heavy industry in the Czech republic rose form 45 percent to 53 percent.

The share of the traditional Czech sectors—the food industry, production of glass, textiles, and other consumer goods—fell in these 40 years from 50 percent to 25 percent. Personal consumption fell from 74 percent of the net national income in 1950 to less than 60 percent in 1988. In contrast, the expenditure on so-called unproductive sectors, including defense, security, state administration, and the national front had by 1988 climbed from 15 percent to nearly 30 percent of the consumed national income. The demand for machinery in our economy is growing; the rate of growth of national income is falling. From the end of the 1960's up to 1989 the annual growth of the national income has fallen from 5-7 percent to 1.4 percent, and what is more, in [word indistinct] prices, where inflation moves at around 3 percent per annum. From the beginning of the 1980's national income has been falling considerably. Our citizens have to work two or three times longer to acquire a comparable amount of food than do those in developed countries. For clothing and footwear this period is almost four times longer and for long-term consumer goods it is five times or more.

The weakness of our economy is most visible on the foreign market. Recently, for our engineering production we have been receiving only a quarter of what our Austrian neighbors get. The structure of our exports is of a similar nature to those of developing countries: 53 percent of exports are basic raw materials and production materials; only 24 percent are consumer goods. And finally, (?I would like to point out), if we invest 1 koruna into our economy something of lower value emerges.

Agriculture also did not escape the overall devastation of economic life. For many years agricultural workers did what they could, many did even more. The intensification of agricultural production has been radically increased. In 1948 one agricultural worker could feed 6.7 inhabitants, now it is almost 19 people. It is thanks to them that we still have enough to eat. But, we are paying for this forced intensification with a fall in the quality of soil and water, endangering the things we eat with excessive [word indistinct] and so on. Animal production led not only to a reduced average life of animals, but also to [word indistinct]. The production of food is, however, at the same time an expensive result of the shortfall in other sectors. Agriculture is dependent by up to 70 percent on deliveries of [word indistinct] and naturally it cannot itself influence the variety, price, or quality of the deliveries.

After this brief and depressing account the question must be asked more and more forcefully: How is it possible that compared with some neighboring countries we have lived until now relatively decently? It was, after all, reasonably alright and now things will be clearly worse. Is all this necessary —this revolution, these changes, this flood of truth?

The explanation is simple but not obvious to everyone. We lived our life on credit. And not only credit abroad, which in freely convertible currency for the whole republic is now approaching eight billion dollars, while at the end of the 60's and beginning of the 70's it was almost nothing. There is also our internal debt. We must be aware that in the last 20 years in particular the so often proclaimed social certainties and standard of living were secured at a massive cost. At the cost of the rapid delapidation of the whole of our economy. Factory machinery was not kept up to date, we have wrecked our housing, we have devastated the environment, we have not modernized transport and communications, the health service and the education system. We kept up our present standard of living at such cost. We live above our means, on credit, and this debt which is now several hundred billion korunas must be repaid by us, and regrettably by our children and grandchildren. We cannot, nor wish to continue with this hazardous policy.

The way to correct this will be very difficult. Anyone who hides this fact is a political adventurer. Every step of reform will represent a kind of shock from which we will have to be able to recover. The situation is all the more complicated because we clearly do not always have the same opinion about these steps as the federal government. It is truly a complication because the transition to the market economy cannot but be uniform, but at the same time it is something quite natural, something that is also an expression of the specific nature of the economy of the Czech Republic.

I do not want to be dramatic and secretive as well. We agree with the federal government on envisaged goals, and we fully respect its effots to avoid at any cost—and I emphasize, at any cost—what is called galloping inflation. But our discussions are not ruled to that extent by macroeconomic considerations. We see responsibility for the fates of individual enterprises, and for this reason we place greater emphasis on the need for some stabilization measures which are far from just cadre ones. We are afraid taht otherwise there is a danger in future weeks of such a destabilization of the enterprise sphere which would threaten the start of reform or even make it impossible. After all, the market economy is not yet functioning. At the same time we are abandoning the method of balancing the flow of materials, but we must do it in such a way as to ensure that at the very least the decisive enterprises have material for production, or rather so that they do not have to pay for it in dollars, even at home. For the moment enterprises are still owned by the state, and this means that all governments have the constitutional duty to protect this property.

At any rate, we are of the opinion that in the future we must immediately stabilize every step of the reform before we take the next step. It has always been fatal for reform attempts in this part of the world if they were forced back once they had gone too far (?without stabilizing each step). This, by the way, is characteristic of reforms in Hungary in particular.

The important thing is not to hurry slowly; the important thing is to hurry prudently. The philosophy of our reform tempo is based on this thought. This tempo must be, above all, as I have said before, supported by the political agreement of the majority of the citizens. More important than the tempo, or speed of reform, however, is its internal logic. Individual steps must be internally linked, consistent and of course emphatic, or even hard hitting. And they must also always be strengthened immediately, so that it is not necessary to go back. The alternative to the shock method, gradual steps, appears to us from this viewpoint to be artificial because the tempo of reform will be given by our ability to guarantee not only political, economic, but also production prerequisites. This is a task which no one will take over from the government. The deputies of legislative bodies must remind governments of this responsibility by the means given to them by the Constitution.

I considered it important to tell you this in connection with the fact that our report about the state of the Czech Republic is for the moment precisely just a report, and not the formulation of solutions.

For this one does not require only economists, even if they are extremely forward-looking and sober. Economic reform can be a contribution only in a social environment that will behave in a political manner, that will be able to bring harmony to individual divided interests to form something that is generally meaningful. What sort of policy am I thinking about? The basic one that cares for public things. Without it we are not forming a policy, but playing at politics, and it is then simply fighting for advantages in an area where 'might is right' applies. Politics begins in the community where its members feel at least such a measure of belonging that it is worth their while to uphold the democratic rules of the game—that is, not relying only on might, patronage, or money. It is impossible to decide whether we need the community so that we have decent politics, or whether we need politics so that our communities do not degenerate. One is unthinkable without the other.

In a country where the state was swallowed up by a party, a party whose policy resigned its sovereignty, the only thing that mattered was precisely might, patronage, or money. One regional party group fought with another group within it, and it had nothing in common with politics or even democracy.

Why do I emphasize the community so much? People who do not belong anywhere, who are not at home anywhere, are usually among the first to be taken in by the agitators of hate-filled chauvinism of some kind of fundamentalism or redemption. The need to belong is not a luxury, but a fundamental need. Without the will and possibility of satisfying this need, politics and democracy do not have a chance, because where there are no firm frameworks of joint care for public things, there are no rules of the game and the decisive thing is only the measure of ruthlessness. Economic reform outside such a cultivated political environment would only be a bitter medicine for us. So, together with political reform we must also come with a new territorial arrangement in which it will be clear at a glance where the self-management of the citizens ends and the jurisdiction of the authorities begins, or vice versa if you wish, where it will not be possible to wage endless and fruitless arguments about who lives at whose expense.

The final and decisive framework, the space for politics, is naturally the state. We have forgotten the Czech state, you see, and today we do not even know when and where this happened. It would be bad if we only remembered the Czech state during some kind of upheaval, confrontation, or deep disappointment. The state must be built organically, gradually; it must be actively sought. There is nothing for it but to build it by extending our homes, our communities. It begins when the enterprising cottage owner cuts down the nettles beyond the fence, when two communities which are organized in other ways also agree that they will jointly clear out the stream which flows between them, when the citizens-patriots of two towns contribute to a museum which can only be in a third town. Reading historical novels can only slightly encourage us toward this, no more. Even the (?enthusiastic reading of the books of) Massaryk will not help us. We need a Czech state because we need a political space. Without it the market economy will rage in our country like a storm.

At the beginning of this speech I pointed out that for reform it is necessary to constantly win the political agreement of the public. Politics without the market is simply bare power, it is the market without politics. However, the market will sooner or later force a policy, but every delay will cost us dearly. It is directly connected with the needs of the Czech state, of Czech statehood, with the reminder that we will not have a state until we succeed in rebuilding the community together.

The report on the state of the Czech republic ends with the sober finding that the community is the thing that we lack most. Without living, self-managing communities, politics and democracy are simply ideals. Thoughts about the building of the Czech state are not just the decorative ornaments of our concerns for the material well-being of this country. Allow me at the close to express the hope that I am also expressing your conviction and that we will shortly succeed in including as many citizens of this country as possible in the building of it.

Deputies Approve Name Change to Czech Republic

LD0603124990 Prague Domestic Service in Czechdd

[Text] The deputies of the Czech National Council approved at their meeting in Prague today a draft bill of constitutional law changing the name of the Czech Socialist Republic to the Czech Republic. They also gave their backing to the proposal by President Vaclav Havel that the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic be renamed the Czechoslovak Republic.

USSR Vehicles, Soldiers Continue Withdrawal

LD0503160590 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1500 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] The withdrawal of Soviet troops from CSSR territory continues according to schedule. The first stage is to be completed by the end of this May.

Besides the railway border crossing the Soviet Union in Cierna nad and Tisou and Matovce, which is being crossed by trainloads of caterpillar truck equipment, the first convoy of vehicles crossed the border in Vysne Nemecke. About 200 soldiers and officers, 80 military vehicles, and 20 trailers from Soviet garrisons in the North Moravian region reached the territory between local and Soviet customs without any problem. After passing through customs and passport checks on both sides, the equipment crossed to Soviet territory, where it will continue under its own steam.

Dienstbier Questioned on Recent Diplomatic Tour

LD0503182990 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] A news conference was given in Prague today by Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier on his recent visit to Denmark, The Netherlands, and Belgium, and on important questions of international policy.

The majority of questions from local and foreign journalists concerned the talks the Czechoslovak foreign minister held in Brussels, where he met with leading representatives of the European Community and NATO. In his replies, Jiri Dienstbier said that Czechoslovakia cannot enter the EC immediately, but it is preparing a new agreement on cooperation between our country and this organization, which includes a certain form of association. At the same time it is necessary to keep sight of the development of various forms of Europe-wide cooperation which would be beneficial for all. In this connection Minister Dienstbier said that certain coordination of progress in this direction will be served by the international meeting in Bratislava. It will take place on 9 April with the participation of presidents, premiers, and foreign ministers of Czechoslovakia, Poland, and Hungary. Also present will be representatives of the public of these countries. The foreign ministers of Austria, Yugoslavia, and Italy have also been invited.

Jiri Dienstbier pointed out that at all the recent talks—not only in Brussels, but also in Washington and Moscow—there was agreement in expressing the vital need to preserve stability during the fast-breaking developments in countries of Central and East Europe, and also support for the process of gradual democratic changes in the Soviet Union. At the same time the preservation of the existance of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the strengthening of their political character at the expense of the military role, and the assessment of our role in talks about the creation of a new security system in Europe appears to be necessary for the moment. At the same time it is necessary to include the question of the unification of Germany in this context. This problem will be one of the points on the agenda of the foreign ministers of Warsaw Pact states, who will meet on 17 March in Prague.

Dienstbier on Unification, Polish Border, Trade

AU0703090390 Vienna Domestic Service in German 0600 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Interview with Foreign Minister Jiri Dienstbier by Otto Hoermann in Prague on 6 March—recorded; Dienstbier answers in English with superimposed German translation]

[Text] [Hoermann] Mr Minister, compulsory visas have been abolished between Austria and the CSSR, and also the compulsory exchange of currency. Now Austrians are traveling to the CSSR, leaving empty shops behind them in your country. As a result, voices have been raised among the CSSR Government calling for the reintroduction of the compulsory exchange of foreign currency. What is your position?

[Dienstbier] I think that we have to find a solution, and my option is strict customs regulations. If we want to be open to the world, we must also accept unpleasant things. Of course, we cannot change the minds of the people. We probably cannot ask the Austrians to help us. It is natural that they want to come to the CSSR and buy cheap goods that are scarce in our country. This would be the best solution, but there is no ideal solution. A solution should be found until the time when our currency will become convertible. However, this will take several years.

[Hoermann] Foreign Minister Mock has said that what the world needs is a European Germany, not a German Europe. I assume that you share this view. What will the CSSR do for the pursuit of such policy?

[Dienstbier] Well, we accept the unification of Germany. We think that every nation has the right to self-determination. However, we do not want to discuss the problem as an isolated issue, because every problem is connected with so many other matters that we should discuss all these matters, and we should do so in the framework of the creation of new structures of European security and cooperation. History has sufficiently proved that every attempt at European unification on the basis of special religious, national, or ideological interests always led to a catastrophe, or was at best unsuccessful.

[Hoermann] Reunification between the two German states is probably the most important question that exists in Europe today. However, the border between Germany and Poland plays an important role in this connection. What is your opinion on this issue?

[Dienstbier] Well, the CSSR border is not being contested, but the Polish border is being contested. Its border with Germany is 1,000 km long. There should be no doubt concerning the inviolability of the Polish border or any other border in Europe. This is the only way toward a pluralistic and democratic Europe of free nations, states, and individuals where borders lose their significance, as is happening just now in the EC.

UK Minister of State Discusses Aid Prospects

AU0103142590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 90 p 3

[CTK report: "CSSR-Britain Government Program Signed"]

[Text] Prague—William Waldegrave, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, who traveled to Czechoslovakia on 27 February, held talks after his arrival in Prague with Robert Harencar, CSSR first deputy foreign minister. Among other things, the British guest intends to prepare the way for President Vaclav Havel's visit to Britain which should take place during the second half of March.

The British side is concerned about discussing a broad program of aid for Czechoslovakia. Before President Havel travels to the United Kingdom, this program will be formulated. At the moment, the British side has chosen four of the most important spheres. These involve privatization—that is, the series of issues associated with changes in ownership, and legislation which, among other things, involves contractual law so that we may become not only sincere but also legitimate partners. The third sphere is local administration. In Czechoslovakia local administration will practically be rebuilt from its foundations. The British have great experience in this and can help us. The possibility of cooperation between police forces, for example in training, is also interesting.

At the end of the talks, a government program for cultural, educational, and scientific exchanges was signed.

William Waldegrave then paid a visit to Charles University.

William Waldegrave held talks with representatives of the Civic Forum Coordinating Center on possibilities of aid not only for the Civic Forum but for Czechoslovakia in general.

He also met with Vaclav Klaus, federal finance minister, who briefed him on the government of national understanding's current economic policy.

Havel's U.S. Congress Speech Termed 'Triumph'

AU0203165390 Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech
23 Feb 90 pp 1,3

[Jindrich Hoda commentary: "Triumph On Capitol Hill"]

[Text] Not every head of state can boast of being given the privilege to address the U.S. Congress. And, if one is given such an opportunity, then the U.S. lawmakers are usually reserved. Czechoslovak President Vaclav Havel became the first top-ranking representative of a Central or East European country to obtain the privilege to address U.S. senators, members of the House of Representatives, and outstanding personalities of U.S. public life in the historical building on Capitol Hill. In a live TV relay, we were able to watch the magnificent welcome accorded to our president and the reaction to his speech. His speech was interrupted by applause 23 times, very often stormy, and this already means something. We have been waiting for a long time for our highest official to arouse such attraction and respect abroad. The fact that this happened on the soil of the most powerful country on this planet makes us even happier. The TV screen showed that during some passages the congressmen, otherwise tough fellows, were moved, just as we were.

I believe that the foremost personalities of political life in the United States, as well as all of American society, those esteemed self-made men and women with a difficult destiny who excel despite the obstacles, realized that it was not a cool politician standing in front of them, but a politician with the sensitivity and eloquence of a playwright. As stated by one foreign agency, Czechoslovakia has become a symbol of the revolutionary changes in Central and Eastern Europe, and President Havel their architect.

We want to return to Europe quickly. The United States and Canada, as participants in the CSCE and co-shapers of the pan-European process, are playing an important role in this regard. "The present democratization process in the Central and East European countries is irreversible. Europe will begin the search for its identity and it will no longer be forced to be an arms arsenal divided into two parts as until now," V. Havel said. The Czechoslovak president called for an early meeting of the CSCE leadership which, at the same time, would also be a European peace conference and would devise a conclusion for World War II. It would also enable the creation of a unified Germany and help set up a new Europe which would be able to defend itself without foreign assistance. What impressed me perhaps most of all was the answer to the question, how can the United States help our country and Eastern Europe. The best help is that offered to the Soviet Union on its difficult way toward democracy. The faster and more peacefully the USSR sets out toward genuine political pluralism, the better for Czechs, Slovaks, and the entire world, President Havel stressed.

The Czechoslovak president also gained recognition for the fact that he gave priority to helping oneself rather than through U.S. financial support. Certainly, we are looking for new trading partners, we are interested in help in creating a market economy and in the sphere of education, we need modern technology, and we need to export consumer goods. We have to become familiar with the process of building democratic institutions and in mastering the knowledge necessary for a successful entrepreneurial activity. But, as V. Havel said, "this does not have to be just the help of the educated, powerful, and rich to someone who has nothing and therefore has nothing to offer in return. We, too, can offer something: Namely, our experience and the knowledge arising from it."

It is certain now that we will soon obtain the status of most favored nation, which will make commercial contacts with the United States much easier. However, if we want to trade on the basis of equality, we must realize that only the highest quality goods can find their way to the U.S. market. I do not believe that products made by most of our enterprises would attract a particular interest in the United States at present. What we are facing is by no means a small job.

The entire visit of the Czechoslovak president and his company attracted exceptional attention and respect. The results achieved in the negotiations in Canada and the United States are termed by observers and the communications media as the beginning of a new era of relations between the two North American countries and Czechoslovakia. Many compatriots of Czech and Slovak origin live in Canada and the United States who, despite the reality of the past 40 plus years, have maintained their attitude to their native country or the country of their forefathers. They are mostly doing well and belong to the successful group. Cooperation with them, too, will be immensely valuable as we return to the family of free nations.

Dubcek in Paris; Proclaims 'New Road to Europe'

AU0603203590 Paris AFP in English 1905 GMT
6 Mar 90

[Text] Paris, March 6 (AFP)—Reforms carried out in the Soviet Union have "removed an external threat" to Czechoslovakia and opened a "new road to Europe", Czechoslovak parliament Speaker Alexander Dubcek said here Tuesday.

Speaking at a press conference at the end of his first visit to the French capital, Mr. Dubcek said he felt "very deeply about developments in the Soviet Union and particularly the reform movement which opened the road for Poland and Czechoslovakia."

"This movement has removed an external threat to our country," he said.

Referring to the "Brezhnev-style Stalinism" that ended his country's 1968 liberalization, Mr. Dubcek said "that kind of communism, that kind of socialism" would not come back.

Mr. Dubcek, the leader of the Prague Spring reform movement that was crushed by Soviet-led Warsaw Pact tanks in August 1968, late last year emerged from years of disgrace to become speaker of his country's parliament.

"Without freedom of the individual, there can be no free society and without freedom of the local community, there can be no free state," he said.

Turning to the economic aspects of Czechoslovakia's "velvet revolution" that ushered in western-style democracy last November, Mr. Dubcek warned "not to encumber the future with debts."

"We must get prepared for our entry in Europe (and) meet a certain number of conditions toward our people and you," he said addressing the Franco-Czechoslovak chamber of trade.

Getting inflation under control would have to be one of the main targets of government policy.

During his two-day visit Mr. Dubcek, who was accompanied by his wife Anna and by Jiri Hajek, the man who served as his foreign minister during the abortive 1968 reform movement, met with President Francois Mitterrand, Prime Minister Michel Rocard and other French leaders.

Received by French Premier Rocard

LD0603222990 Prague CTK in English 1558 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Paris March 6 (CTK correspondent)—Visiting chairman of the Czechoslovak Federal Assembly Alexander Dubcek met here today with French Premier Michel Rocard for talks on the 1968 Prague Spring reform movement and cooperation in education, agriculture, transport and other fields.

The two representatives stressed that if the 1968 Prague Spring had succeeded, democratic socialism would have gained 20 years and much suffering would have been prevented.

In 1968, Michel Rocard was at the head of the United Socialist Party (PSU) and was inspired by documents of the Czechoslovak Communist Party when he considered possibilities of the restoration of socialism. Alexander Dubcek's external adviser, Professor Jiri Hajek, who was also present at the talks, said in this connection that he dealt with the PSU ideas in the sphere of self- administration.

Also discussed were the questions of France's assistance to Czechoslovakia, mainly in agriculture, transport and car production.

At the close of the talks, Michel Rocard announced that a visit of Czechoslovak Prime Minister Marian Calfa to France is planned for the nearest future. The visit will take place at the invitation of Michel Rocard but the exact date has not yet been fixed.

Prague Conference Offers Democratic Experience

LD0603225390 Prague CTK in English 1739 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Prague Feb 6 (CTK)—Journalists were informed here today of the course of a conference "Czechoslovakia in Democratic Europe" which is organized by the European Association for Inter-Regional Cooperation (Eureg) together with the Civic Forum Coordinating Centre and which started on Sunday.

Eureg President Karl-Heinz Reinheimer said that the association now focuses its attention on the process that has started in Eastern Europe and on the development of democratization processes. That is why the conference takes place in Prague, he added.

The conference deals with representatives of democratic forces in Czechoslovakia, mainly the situation in Czechoslovak society after the changes that occurred at the end of last year and at the beginning of this year.

The conference is to convey experiences of Western countries to Czechoslovakia but in no case does it want to give the country unilateral lessons, Eureg representatives stressed. They, however, pointed out that Czechoslovakia was isolated in the past few years and that it would not be reasonable not to make use of other countries' experiences. In Western Europe, there are enough examples how to tackle the problems of constitutional law and democratic guarantees.

Federal Assembly Elections Set for 8-9 Jun

LD0603113190 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1100 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] The Presidium of the Federal Assembly has called elections to the Federal Assembly for 8 and 9 June of this year. At the same time, it states that on the territory of the Czech Republic 101 deputies will be elected to the Chamber of People, and on the territory of the Slovak Republic 49 deputies to the Chamber of People will be elected.

New Minority Rights Group Opposes Discrimination

LD0203140390 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Coexistence Movement initiated by Miklos Duray, a group of various national minorities, has now turned into an official organization. Its basic statutes have been released. Evelyn Forro reports from Prague:

[Forro] The principles of democracy will be asserted deficiently in Czechoslovakia's political practice, as long as it is haunted by the spirit of the nation-state, as long as the concept of state does not become secondary to the people, as long as the minority is at the mercy of the will of the majority. This wording in the basic statutes, properly speaking, is the reply to why the Coexistence Movement, which is hallmarked by the name of Miklos Duray, came into being.

It is necessary to emphasize, first and foremost, that it groups not Magyar, but every nationality and it is not a party but a political movement. It strives for the collective rights of national minorities, for their political representation, for the right to decide in their own affairs, for their equality and equal rights as citizens. It opposes every form of disadvantageous discrimination. It wishes to fight against the intensifying anti-Semitism and xenophobia, as well as against all oppression owing to race, religion, and conviction. In the opinion of the Coexistence Movement, a basic right of the national minorities is to study in their mother tongue. For this reason, the current school system must be changed. The appearance of bi-and multilingual signs in public areas must also be achieved. This is a longstanding wish, indeed demand, of the nationalities. For example, in Slovakia, the Slovak placenames are used even in areas which are purely inhabited by Magyars.

Slovak Government Discusses Minority Issues

LD0603165190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 0700 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Slovak Government discussed the position of minorities for the first time since conflicts in the country have sharpened in the case of national minorities. Evelyn Forro reports.

[Forro] Understanding and toleration, these were the most frequent words at the Slovak Government's session in Komarno [Komarom] where the nationality questions were on the table. Obviously, the series of anti-Hungarian movements forced the government to take steps and that is why they put the issue on the agenda. Slovak Premier Milan Cic warned that joining Europe will also mean that the nationalities must live in a climate of mutual trust. Nationalistic manifestations must be rejected, we must dissociate from provocation and every form of demagoguery, said Premier Cic.

Jan Budaj, recently elected deputy speaker of the Slovak parliament, voiced his view that the compromised political power circle is trying to spoil the climate by fuelling nationalistic conflicts.

Zoltan Sido, president of Czemadok [Cultural Association of Hungarian Workers in Czechoslovakia], declared that his organization is dissociating itself from every such separatist opinion which questions state borders of Czechoslovakia and also from those people who are stirring up national conflicts. He repeatedly emphasized that a Hungarian university should be established in Komarno, in Slovak.

Official Warns of Anti-Hungarian Extremism

LD0503162290 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] According to the deputy president of the Slovak government, who is of Hungarian nationality, it would be advisable to avoid open confrontation with extremist nationalists because it is not difficult to figure out that the minority could pull the short straw.

In his interview, given to Bratislava Uj Szo, however, Sandor Varga did not utter a single word as to how the Slovak government wishes to calm these extremist anti-Hungarian manifestations. He voiced his opinion that impatience can even create hostility among those who are otherwise understanding toward the nationalities. In his opinion, I quote: The politics of resolute demands is very spectacular at present and, perhaps, it can also be popular; but in the long term, it is not profitable, because it could sweep even the most trustworthy personalities to the periphery of political life.

Deputy Premier Sandor Varga said that the ethnic Hungarian organizations and movements have to consider cooperation with the democratic Slovak forces. As background to the Uj Szo interview, last week parliament adopted an election law which forces the nationalities into a disadvantageous situation and there were renewed anti-Hungarian actions in Slovakia.

Program of 'Slovak National Party' Published

AU0503080190 Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 28 Feb 90 pp 2,3

[Statement by the Preparatory Committee of the Slovak National Party, published from the "SMENA Service" column: "Introducing Slovak National Party"]

[Text] The spontaneous movement to renew national consciousness and pride, and to revitalize the cultural historical traditions of Slovak people which has formed itself from below, compelled the need for a unified national party. This party will consistently represent the interests of Slovak people on the political stage. The Slovak National Party [Slovenska narodna strana—SNP] desires to assume this task. This party unites those nationals who are not indifferent to their nation's future. The SNP wants to be an open party which develops its activities on the principle of equality of all groups and social strata of the society. The principal mission of SNP is:

1. Dedicated struggle for the renewal of the national consciousness, pride, and cultural traditions of the Slovak people in the spirit of the historical heritage of the

disciples of Stur [Slovak national revivalist], as well as that of other progressive movements in the history of Slovakia.

2. An objective and uncompromising reassessment of the history of the Slovak people, identification of all personalities originating in our nation, and assigning them the place in history which justly belongs to them.

3. To ensure that the principle of equality of Czechs and Slovaks is fully reflected in the name and symbols of our state, and in the constitutional laws. The only proper name of our state can be Czech and Slovak Federal Republic.

4. To achieve a proportional representation of Slovaks in all legislative and executive bodies of the federal structure.

5. Critical reassessment of Masaryk's democratism and struggle against the concept of "Czechoslovakism," historically so pernicious for Slovak people, a notion which does not correspond to the ideas of democratism and humanism proclaimed today.

6. Overseeing state power, defense of legal rights, and assertion of the will and interests of Slovak people within the political system of the Czech and Slovak federation, including the Slovak population of Czech lands.

7. Enforce the understanding of Slovakia as an independent national and political entity with its specific cultural historical features and economic differences.

8. To achieve the use of two official languages, that is the Slovak language and the Czech language, to be embodied in the Constitution as languages that are equal, and which every citizen of the Czech and Slovak federation has to respect as such in any contact with the authorities. Moreover, we will demand that the Slovak representation at the level of federal bodies explicitly use the correct Slovak language.

9. Concentration on instruction in Slovak history with the aim of eliminating opinions that the Slovak people are a nation without history on the verge of losing its national identity.

10. To support the universal development of physical education and sport, which form an important phenomenon in the formation of national pride.

The title Slovak National Party puts us under an obligation, unlike other political parties, to acquaint with our program not only the circle of our supporters, but the entire public. We ask that all citizens who are in favor of the SNP program, who agree with the idea of its inception, and with its participation in Slovak political life, express their support on a card with their name, surname, birth-registration number, and address, and send it to this address: SNP Preparatory Committee, Stefanikova 47, 811 04 Bratislava.

Slovak Political Prisoners Found Organization

AU0603150190 Bratislava ROLNICKE NOVINY in Slovak 5 Mar 90 p 2

[CTK report: "They Demand Rehabilitation"]

[Excerpts] Bratislava— Approximately 1,000 political prisoners sentenced form 1948 to 1989, met in Bratislava on 3 March and founded the Confederation of Political Prisoners of Slovakia [Konfederacia politic Kuch vaznov Slovenska]. Its aim is the absolute political and social rehabilitaion of all who were sentenced according to Law No. 231 of 1948 and other laws. [passage omitted]

The demands of its members include, among others, proper health care and spa treatment. Dr. Julius Porubsky was elected chairman of the confederation.

Civic Forum Introduces Two Political Parties

LD0203055290 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2130 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] A Civic Forum news conference held in the Aurora Club in Prague today was attended by Petr Hartman.

[Begin Hartman recording] Today's meeting with journalists was aimed, above all, at introducing two political parties that are active within the framework of Civic Forum, namely Civic Democratic Alliance [Obcanska Demokraticka Aliance] and Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative. (Pavel Bratinka) spoke on behalf of Civic Democratic Alliance. He characterized it as a conservative party in the sphere of politics and morals, and as a liberal party in the economic sphere—that is, a party demanding the return to a market economy. The Czechoslovak Democratic Initiative was represented by Emanuel Mandler who designated his party as liberal democratic, intending to practice individual freedoms and individual activity in all spheres of life—that is, also in the economy. At the conclusion of the news conference, (Jana Visinkova), spokesman for Civic Forum, again repeated which political parties are part of Civic Forum at the moment. [end recording]

Leader of New Left-Wing Party Outlines Policies

AU0203143590 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 12 Feb 90 p 3

[Interview with Milan Taraba, chairman of the preparatory committee of the Czechoslovak Democratic Forum, by Vaclav Pergl; place and date not given: "On a New Left-Wing Party"]

[Text] [Pergl] The Czechoslovak Democratic Forum (CSDF) is the name of a new left-wing party formed by some supporters of the Democratic Forum of Communists [DFC]. The party already has a nationwide preparatory committee, which is chaired by Engineer Milan Taraba. I put several questions to him.

Why have you broken away from the DFC and thereby, in fact, from the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]?

[Taraba] We have not broken away. From the very beginning, two lines of thought existed within the DFC whose members included both CPCZ members and nonmembers. On the basis of discussions within our movement—that is, the DFC—every member voluntarily decides on which platform he intends to continue working. DFC members who are not CPCZ members have been calling for the founding of a new left-wing party which would not be associated with the CPCZ's past. They want to work toward founding a single, large left-wing party in the future. In our opinion, such a party is absolutely essential for the creation of a political balance in society.

[Pergl] In other words, you assume that the CPCZ will fall apart?
[Taraba] The CPCZ does not have to fall apart but the number of its members is significantly falling. The CPCZ as such is incapable of completely rehabilitating itself because people who are intrinsically bound up with the past remain its members.

[Pergl] Are there any CPCZ members in your party?
[Taraba] No.

[Pergl] Who can become a member of your party?
[Taraba] Every citizen of our state or foreigner with permanent residence in the CSSR who approves of the CSDF program and supports the party materially by the payment of dues. In addition to members, we also count upon the support of sympathizers.

[Pergl] What are the chief tenets of your policy statement?
[Taraba] We want to be a party propagating humaneness and empathy, tolerance of other people's views, humanism, and democracy. We support the building of a modern market economy in our state and its opening to the world. At the same time, the basic social guarantees of the population must be retained. We ascribe importance to the cooperative movement and to cooperative self-management which have their roots in parties with a social democratic orientation and a long tradition in our country. We do not rule out the state's fundamental role in the coordination of the economy.

[Pergl] What is the nature of your party's organizational principles?
[Taraba] The draft organizational rules will be considered by the constituent congress.

[Pergl] When will it take place?
[Taraba] In about six weeks.

[Pergl] Let us return to the organizational principles.
[Taraba] We foresee a loose organizational structure with a minimal staff, with elected and policy making bodies having the main say. A formidable part of the initiative will spring up from CSDF primary clubs and district coordinating centers.

[Pergl] Will you cooperate with the CPCZ?
[Taraba] In my opinion, the CPCZ is facing a fundamental task: the completion of its restructuring. If the thus renewed CPCZ turns out to be a genuine partner for all constituent parts of the left wing, then it will become integrated into it. At the moment, however, some left-wing parties dissociate themselves from the CPCZ.

[Pergl] With whom do you want to cooperate in Europe?
[Taraba] We fully endorse the platform of the Socialist International. We want to promote contacts primarily with its member parties.

[Pergl] Will you have your own press?
[Taraba] The CPCZ's proclamations concerning its attitude to the left ought to assume a clearer form. It could, for example, make some of its printing capacity availabel to the other left-wing parties, to enable them to establish a daily of the truly independent left.

[Pergl] Does this concern RUDE PRAVO as well?
[Taraba] Yes. RUDE PRAVO should become a daily of the left, possibly with a different name and contents.

[Pergl] Before one of your plans becomes reality, how will you put across your views?
[Taraba] We are setting up a samizdat periodical and want to publish our views in the daily press and other media.

[Pergl] You head the CSDF Preparatory Committee. How many members does it have? And what about yourself—are you a professional political worker?
[Taraba] The preparatory committee has 35 members. As far as I am concerned, I was expelled from the CPCZ in 1970 and am without party affiliation at present. I work as head of production planning at the Stary Harcov united agricultural cooperative near Liberec and intend to keep my job. There are qualified political scientists and experts on programmatic issues in our party.

[Pergl] Thank you for the interview.

'Transnational Radical Party' Establishes Program

AU0103124890

[Editorial Report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 20 February and Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 27 February publish items introducing the "Transnational Radical Party" [Transnacionalni radikalni strana] (TRS).

Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 20 February on page 5 carries a 200-word statement setting out the party's aims. It states that the party associates people who "do not have power ambitions but want to participate in political life" and whose aim is "to achieve a fully and truly democratic society." More specifically, the statement notes that the party opposes the death penalty, supports "all minorities" (national, religious, cultural, as well as sexual), and seeks the formation of the "United States of Europe" (which is also the reason for the attribute "transnational" in its name). All persons interested in finding out more about the party's program and activity are invited to write to Mr. Jiri Dolezal in Prague-6.

The party's statement is followed by an undated 250-word VECERNI PRAHA interview with the TRS "representative" Jiri Pavlicek, in which he explains what the party means by support for sexual minorities. Pavlicek says that the party seeks "the absolute freedom of conduct" in this sphere, as long as this conduct "suits both partners concerned, satisfies them, and enriches them." In this context he mentions that the party supports the establishment of brothels in Czechoslovakia to combat "rape and other negative phenomena."

Prague LIDOVA DEMOKRACIE in Czech on 27 February on page 4 carries a 150-word CTK report on the TRS program. The report states that every Thursday at 1530 local time, the party organizes a demonstration for the abolition of capital punishment in front of the Office of the CSSR Government Presidium. It also mentions that the party blames drug-related crime on the "short-sighted prohibitionist policy of most Western countries" and seeks the "legalization of so-called soft drugs and state control over their distribution."

Freedom Party Denies Ultra-Right-Wing Label

AU0203151490 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 28 Feb 90 p 8

[Interview with Gustav Dunda, central secretary of the Freedom Party, by Jana Casnochova; place and date not given—"National, Liberal, and Open"]

[Excerpts] The Freedom Party was founded in 1946. Recently, certain speculation has arisen in connection with it. Therefore, we asked Gustav Dunda, the party's central secretary, for an interview.

[Casnochova] At your party's recent municipal conference in Kosice you said that you are a national liberal party which occupies the central position in the broad spectrum of political parties. You rejected the claim, particularly widespread in Bohemia, that you are an ultra right-wing party....

[Dunda] We are an independent political party. Its liberal nature is manifested by its affiliation of all democratically thinking citizens regardless of their religious conviction or nationality. We are open to all ideas which stand for a better future and which do not contain militant, centralist, or undemocratic principles in their programs. Some forces are spreading the view that we are an ultra right-wing party. We consider this to be part of a dirty pre-election political struggle. Neither our program, nor our articles, nor even our activities provide a pretext for such a claim. Perhaps someone resents the fact that we are a national party which wants to defend the rights of Slovaks at home and abroad, that we are demanding complete federation and a just constitution protecting our people. Who exactly is ultra? We who want to adhere to the nation's fundamental law, or those who do not like it? [passage omitted]

[Casnochova] What kind of relationship do you have with the other political parties, including the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]?

[Dunda] We are in favor of cooperation with all parties which are concerned with our society's happiness and well-being, which assert a moral life, and which are against national and racial discrimination. We are impatiently waiting to see how the CPCZ comes to terms with its past—that is, with democratic centralism, with internationalism elevated above national interests, with an individual's position in society, and with militant atheism, not only in its program but also in its life.

[Casnochova] Thank you for the interview.

Officials Interviewed on National Front's Future

AU0503085990 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 26 Feb 90 p 3

[Report on interview with Anton Tazky, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, and Rudolf Dusek, deputy chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, by Kamila Jaskova; place and date not given: "A Dialogue of Equal Partners"]

[Text] The activity of National Front organs, as we know it from the past, has become an anachronism; it does not correspond to today's arrangement in our society. We discussed the current structure with Anton Tazky, chairman of the Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee, and Rudolf Dusek, deputy chairman of the Czech Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee.

[Jaskova] In connection with the cessation of activity by the previous CSSR National Front central organ and with the change in its identity and name, the question arises: What kind of development can be expected at lower levels?

[Dusek] We envisage that the National Front—of course, on the basis of free decisions made by the organizations which make up the group—will change into an open democratic movement of political parties, social and special interest organizations, civic initiatives, clubs, and associations. This will thus create a basis for dialogue between them and with state and representative organs.

[Jaskova] Where do you see a guarantee that the mistakes and distortions which have occurred in the National Front will not be repeated?

[Tazky] The National Front's new identity rests in its complete independence from any political party or political movement. All partners in the National Front are equal.

[Dusek] The fact that this movement will not have any pretensions of universality and, even less, of implementing any kind of inferior and superior attitudes ensues from this.

[Tazky] Attitudes of inferiority and superiority will not be applied toward organizations or between National Front organs. Organs will make decisions exclusively on the basis of consensus and will develop according to the principle of delegation.

[Jaskova] Can it be understood that the contents of activity will also change?
[Dusek] Certainly. This is already the case. We consider our participation in the organization of the roundtable of most important political forces to be significant. However, we are not abandoning our role in fulfilling the National Front's election program in towns and localities, or its partnership with the national committees.
[Tazky] Nevertheless, all organizations, including those who have recently joined the National Front, influence its specific contents. The Slovak Socialist Republic National Front Central Committee has already accepted 13 political parties and 19 other organizations.
[Dusek] In our case, there are 10 newly accepted organizations and parties; for example, the Czech Socialist Republic Pensioners' Union, the Democratic Union of Romanies, and so on.

[Jaskova] What kind of structure will the Czech Socialist Republic and Slovak Socialist Republic National Front apparatuses have?
[Tazky] Reducing the National Front apparatus and the costs of its activity will correspond to the new concept.
[Dusek] An apparatus composed mostly of specialists will mainly fulfill a service function and provide an advisory service.

[Jaskova] Will you maintain the National Front's current name or are you considering another one?
[Dusěk] Czech and Slovak National Front organs will consider its name. It is true that the term National Front has become discredited. However, it is enshrined in the Constitution and a number of laws. Therefore, I am currently inclined toward the view of expressing both continuity and the new contents in its name. We are considering the name National Front—A Movement of Social Organizations and Special Interest Associations.
[Tazky] In the long run, whatever the name will be, it will apply for the period prior to the elections. It is possible to assume that there will be a new distribution of political forces, one of whose primary tasks will be to draft new constitutions—for the Federation and for the republics—and it is possible that a means of affiliating organizations on new platforms will also be enshrined within them. These will then make decisions about their own specifications.

[Jaskova] Thank you for the interview.

Social Democratic Leader Discusses Program

AU0503132890

[Editorial Report] Prague VECERNI PRAHA in Czech on 1 March on page 5 carries a 900-word interview with Slavomir Klaban, chairman of the Czechoslovak Social Democracy (CSD), by Lubos Resler entitled "Social Democrats After Years." The interview, the date of which is not given, was conducted in the social democrats' pre-1948 headquarters in Hybernska Street in Prague, which has been returned to the party, and deals with the CSD program. As Klaban explains, the social democratic party favors an "efficient market economy" and the equality of all forms of ownership. It also advocates state intervention in the economy to head off cyclical downturns, safeguard social guarantees, and assist in the retraining and redeployment of workers who are made redundant by structural changes. Speaking about the party's program, Klaban stresses that, as a member of the Socialist International (SI), the CSD upholds all the principles of the SI program.

In the last question, Klaban is asked about the CSD's possible coalition partners after the elections. He replies: "In view of the fact that, meanwhile, the political programs of individual parties are not definitely formed and crystallized, it is difficult and premature to give a satisfactory answer to this question. At present we are in favor of a coalition with everyone who seeks the definitive dismantling of communist totalitarianism and the holding of free elections. In the future we will conclude a coalition with every creative partner who will seek similar solutions to problems, as is customary everywhere in the world when concluding coalition partnerships. I do not think that Czechoslovakia will be an exception to this rule. We certainly do not want to have anything to do with communists. They embraced the idea of democratic socialism before—in 1945—and we all know very well how it all ended in 1948."

'Secret Letter' Alleges Communist Conspiracy

AU0603103390 Vienna DER STANDARD in German 6 Mar 90 p 5

[APA report: "Secret Letter to Members of Czechoslovak Communist Party: Fan Discord and Quarrel"]

[Excerpt] Prague/Vienna—Following recent reports about plans by the security apparatus of the CSSR to carry out a coup, another attempt to endanger the process of democratization and to destabilize the situation in the country has become known. A circular letter, classified as "top secret" and signed by the Propaganda Department of the Central Committee of the Czechoslovak Communist Party [CPCZ], has been sent to the members of the CPCZ.

The CPCZ leadership has allegedly distanced itself from the letter, pointing out that it does not know the persons who wrote the letter. However, nothing is known about a complaint against unknown persons or a request for criminal persecution of the persons who wrote the letter. The letter contains the following key passages:

"Comrades, there is no need to become insecure because of the current situation in our socialist state. This is a transition period, and if we regain power the current situation will never again be repeated.

"We have our people among the Civic Forum who pretend to be passionate democrats but who, as a matter of fact, are impeding its activities. Join the Civic Forum, and you will receive further instructions from us. Fan discord and quarrels there.

"Communists, in any case try to maintain your working positions at least until the elections because we can only influence the voters if you maintain your leading positions. Fear among the people has not yet disappeared.

"Describe every criticism of leading comrades as an attack on a public official, which is punishable. The judges and the prosecutors, as well as the laws are still on our side.

"Take advantage of the statements by President Havel on nonviolence and democracy. He has given us an efficient weapon.

"The first quarrels have already erupted among the manipulated students. Comrades, this is our work and not theirs. This should happen everywhere. Exaggerate all mistakes of the 'democrats,' spread the news of such mistakes among the population, and use the mistakes for your arguments.

"Consider this circular letter to be top secret!" [passage omitted] [The report is accompanied by a facsimile of the letter which shows that the letter was written on 6 January 1990]

Publishing Firm Breaks With Communist Party

AU0503092790 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Feb 90 p 2

[CTK report: "DELTA and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia"]

[Text] Prague— The establishment of the DELTA Publishers joint stock company is being prepared for 1 April 1990. In the course of March, an agreement will be concluded with the present founder—the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ]—on the settlement of property issues. Relations with the Typografie printing enterprise will also be amended.

The DELTA Publishers joint stock company envisages a foreign stake in its ownership. It will not maintain any economic or legal relations with the CPCZ.

Modrow Discusses 'Very Significant' Moscow Talks

LD0603185790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1731 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Moscow (ADN)—The visit to Moscow created the possibility of further constructive cooperation within the framework of the European process. GDR government chief Hans Modrow regards this as a significant outcome of his two-day trip, which was linked with important talks. Speaking to GDR correspondents, he assessed the meetings tonight on the flight back from Moscow. "The trip was aimed at forming an opinion in an important phase of overall European development and the processes of unification of the two German states, at again exchanging views, and, above all, at familiarizing oneself with the Soviet standpoint in preparation for the 'four-plus-two' conference."

"I would like to say that the meeting marks a very significant event," the politician commented. "It is the first time that the entire government of national responsibility has been in the Soviet Union for a meeting of this nature. It was an exchange of views in which the various parties and groups belonging to the government took part. Mikhail Gorbachev particularly stressed this aspect of the meeting and stressed it as being very important. We were able to note that regarding European development, agreement exists on the decisive issues."

There was joint reinforcement of the position regarding Poland's western border. The two sides put forward the position that the further process of German reunification "must be incorporated even more emphatically in the pan-European process and that in this connection a gradual and step-by-step procedure must again be achieved in this process. Only in this way can it be ensured that the two processes will not be uncoupled, but synchronized," Modrow said.

Modrow added that there were, of course, discussions in which differing opinions manifested themselves. This was the case, inter alia, in questions of nuclear energy. In the premier's view, it is a case of problems that will be attended to further in the future between the Soviet Union and the GDR, as well as in the unification process.

Both sides in the talks expressed their particular interest that the achieved state of economic cooperation must be secured for 1990 as well in mutual supplies. Preparation for 1991 and the perspective concepts under way ranging until 1995 should, as Hans Modrow remarked, continue regardless of all other processes. The starting point thereby is that for the Soviet Union, the GDR is the largest trade partner in the context of CEMA and the FRG the largest in the context of the EC; and these mutual interests should continue to be realized under new, market economy conditions.

The GDR has handed over to the Soviet Union a statement on property questions, Hans Modrow said in the talk with journalists. The position of the GDR Government is that the property relations that arose should be made secure. The Soviet side said that it shares these standpoints.

The period between 1945 and 1949 was of course linked with the laender legislation and the decisions of the Soviet military administration, while the time after 1949 was shaped by means of the laws of the German Democratic Republic, Hans Modrow explained. There is, therefore, in this regard, a difference between both. The GDR Government did not see this difference, however, in questions of principle. The one is a situation where the Soviet side is also, of course, involved to guarantee that issues that are legal also remain legal from common standpoints. And the other is legal questions that the GDR had to represent, "where we proceed from the point that the property of the citizens of the GDR is to be maintained and protected."

All members of the delegation who contributed to the discussion in Moscow represented the standpoint, in the words of the government head, that the friendly relations between the GDR and the Soviet Union should be shaped in a new way, but also taking into account the traditions existing in this area.

USSR Supreme Soviet Group Visits Roundtable

LD0603145890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1153 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The roundtable presented itself on Tuesday to a delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet, also one of the most important achievements of the revolutionary development in the GDR. The guests, who are staying in Berlin for a three-day exchange of opinion, were interested above all in its political influence, the working method, and its position on the unification of both German states. Several spokespersons of the 16 parties and groupings explained that the body had become a constructive political community that is united by the concern for the path towards the future. Following the last session of the roundtable on 12 March, what will remain as a result of the work will be having learned democracy and being able to use it in the future. [passage omitted]

Modrow Talks With Council of Europe Officials

LD0603225790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 2222 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—It is evidently necessary for German unification to be integrated in the pan-European process much more decisively and steadfastly. The four-plus-two conference has an important task to fulfill in this respect, said GDR Prime Minister Hans Modrow in a talk with the president of the Ministerial Committee in the Council of Europe and foreign minister of Portugal, Joao de Deus Pinheiro, in Berlin this evening.

Modrow told the delegation from the Council of Europe, which also includes General Secretary Catherine Lalumiere, that this subject played an important role in the talks he concluded in Moscow today. There was agreement with Mikhail Gorbachev about the need for words to be followed by deeds as the CSCE process continues. The GDR premier reiterated the Soviet Union's stance that a united Germany can, in no circumstances, be a member of NATO.

Modrow and Deus de Pinheiro noted in their talks that new concepts of European cooperation that transcend security and economic issues must be developed to facilitate a peaceful growing together in a European home. The two sides share the concern that too-rapid steps to German unification could hinder the process of European unification.

During the meeting, the GDR applied for guest status in the Council of Europe. Modrow said that the GDR is also interested in becoming a full member. The country should be granted the chance right now to send representatives to the European parliament to put forward its viewpoint there. [passage omitted]

Kohl Stance on Oder-Neisse Border Viewed

AU0603144890 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 2 Mar 90 p 2

[Magdalene Geisler editorial: "Stop Ambiguity"]

[Text] Strictly speaking, no borderline in present-day Europe is as secure as the Oder-Neisse line. This assessment is based on the statements of all European statesmen, politicians, and public opinion managers who—asked about their position on future German unity—have always said that the security of this borderline is a prerequisite. Such statements have been made by George Bush and Margaret Thatcher, Mitterrand and the Netherlands' prime minister. How is it that this border and, in general, the entire complex of "Germany in the borders of 1937," have become topics of discussions marked by genuine concern and other intentions? The whole issue may serve as an example of the fact that constant obvious ambiguities that are a popular instrument in politics to keep or win voters may also backfire on their authors.

The statements made by Federal Chancellor Kohl on the security of this border correspond to the pattern of those obvious ambiguities. He speaks about his clear statement in Warsaw, and on the other hand, he likes to point out that the definitive solution to this problem must be rest with a peace treaty with an "all-German state." However, in certain situations, such formal objections become what FRG politicians and critics of Kohl call "fence-straddling." Nobody would dispute the fact that Helmut Kohl, too, has an interest in living in peace with the Poles and respects their borders; however, he does not make friends with the way he is trying to make people believe that he still has some "back doors" open. One should not so obviously consider the right wing.

The legal situation is as follows: In the Potsdam negotiation in 1945, the point was to define the "starting point" of the agreement that was to be reached. That was Germany in the borders of 1937. However, it is also true that the Western powers tacitly accepted the newly created borders. It is also a fact that Adenauer offered the guarantee—kept secret—to then U.S. Secretary of State Dean Acheson of accepting the Oder-Neisse border. A security policy expert dwelt on this in the FRG daily DIE WELT recently.

Therefore, two things are absolutely necessary: On the one hand, a clear statement by the parliaments of both German states guaranteeing the Oder-Neisse border once again would help ease political tension and would also reassure the Poles. It would just meet the requirements of political hygiene, even though the CSCE Final Act, the Warsaw Treaty, and many other guarantees exist. On the other hand, however, it would also be a requirement of political hygiene not to fan hysteria here or in Poland. Nobody can act with impunity as if in a "common Germany" we were "standing ready for action" to change the borders. Because the Poles are directly concerned by the border issues, they have a legitimate right to claim a larger degree of codetermination on European affairs; however, this must not lead to their imputing only evil intentions to their neighbors.

A clear effort by Chancellor Kohl to stop being ambiguous and to try and create confidence by making clear statements would be a step in the right direction.

FRG Basic Law Articles on Unification Viewed

AU0603073790 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 2 Mar 90 p 1

[Bo Adam editorial: "It Does Matter"]

[Text] Chancellor Kohl simply knows everything. He knows, for example, that the citizens in the GDR "largely do not care" whether unification of the GDR and the FRG should take place under Article 23 or Article 146 of the Federal Republic's Basic Law. That is what he said at a joint news conference with the Alliance for Germany in Bonn on 1 March.

You could believe that the GDR had brought about nothing sensible in 40 years, and on the other hand, the FRG Basic Law is so perfect that the GDR citizens should just join the FRG under this constitutional roof, meaning under Article 23.

You could also hold the view that a new common constitution should be drafted, as envisioned in Article 146, that would combine the best and most progressive elements of the existing constitutions of both German states. However, you cannot say that "people largely do not care." Helmut Kohl also cares, as does the Alliance for Germany, whose election campaigners are energetically propagating Article 23 on the GDR joining the

FRG. Other people in the GDR care about this issue, too. They hold a different view.

However, perhaps not everybody realizes the far-reaching consequences from the difference between the two articles. Then the political parties in the GDR should make sure as soon as possible that this problem be clarified, in order that their future voters know what and whom they will vote for on 18 March.

If we decide in favor of Article 23, we must be aware of the fact that all essential laws of the GDR, including those on social rights, will be examined for the question as to whether they are in line with the FRG Basic Law. If they don't, they will no longer be valid.

Thus the GDR people would largely leave their fate to the judges of the Federal Constitutional Court. In that case, abortion under GDR law would no longer be possible, because that has already been decided by the Karlruhe judges. The GDR law on tenancy would also be in jeopardy, because there are decisions on principle in this respect.

Briefly—we may favor one way or another of unification. However, those who are trying to make us believe that first, the GDR could definitely join the FRG, and then the issue of the Basic Law would be resolved and its provisions amended anyway, simply deceive their electorate.

New Berlin Border Checkpoints Planned

AU0503130990 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Mar 90 p 8

[NC-Schultz report: "New Border Checkpoints"]

[Text] Potsdam—On 3 March, the inhabitants of Glienicke/Nordbahn will welcome their guests for the opening of the border checkpoint to Berlin-Reinickendorf. At the opening ceremony at 1000, Oranienburg District Council Chairman Mr. Michaelis, Berlin-Reinickendorf mayor Mr. Dzembritzki, and Glienicke Mayor Mr. Grohmann will be present.

Since the work at the Karl-Marx-Strasse border checkpoint in Kleinmachnow has been continued, private cars have been able to pass since 1 March. Road works carried out by a West Berlin company is taking place at the checkpoint in Phillip-Mueller-Alle in Kleinmachnow. The checkpoint will probably be opened to pedestrians, private cars, and buses on 31 March.

Work for the reconstruction of Knesebeck Bridge in the Teltow industrial area are more protracted. It is to be expected that the checkpoint will be opened to pedestrians and private cars on 30 June.

Youth Exchange Agreed With France

AU0603113790 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 1

[ND-Duemde report: "Upcoming Vacations in France"]

[Text] Paris—As of May, the GDR-French youth exchange will start with a bang. This was stated by Herbert Griessig of the Office for Youth and Sports and Youth Roundtable member Bernd Wittchow after the talks of a GDR delegation in Paris. After the trips by the 1,000 young people invited by President Mitterrand during his visit to the GDR, 10-day to 20-day visits by schoolchildren, students, and young people from all professions to France are envisioned within the framework of the government agreement; these trips are to take place in May, in July/August, and during the GDR fall vacations.

Young people intrested in this program should apply to the GDR youth associations. Young people between 14 and 30 years of age are to be mainly accommodated by families in France. Costs are paid by the respective hosts.

Further on People's Chamber Session

LD0603141690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1319 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber has decided on the following change in the Constitution in accordance with Article 63 and Article 106 of the Constitution of the German Democratic Republic:

Paragraph 1

Article 44 is changed as follows:

"1. The trade unions are nonparty and independent associations of working people, which are prepared and capable of representing their interests and asserting their demands in a labor dispute.

"2. No one may restrict or hinder the trade unions in their legal activity.
"3. The right to strike of the trade unions is guaranteed. Compensation during labor disputes is not allowed for. Any form of lockout is forbidden."

Paragraph 2

Article 45, Paragraph 2, Clause 1 is changed as follows: "The trade unions take an active share in the shaping of the legal order."

Paragraph 3

This law comes into force upon its publication.

Law on Elections Adopted

LD0603154290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1406 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—People's Chamber deputies this afternoon unanimously adopted the law on the elections to the district assemblies, municipal assemblies, borough assemblies, and local representative bodies on 6 May. They also approved the motion put forward by the ad hoc committee established to prepare a new GDR election law. This establishes 5 May 1990 as the end of the legislative period of the district assemblies, municipal assemblies, including Berlin, borough assemblies, and local representative bodies.

Law on Tax Change Adopted

LD0603175590 East Berlin ADN Interantional Service in German 1548 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—This afternoon the People's Chamber adopted the law on changes to the legal regulations concerning income tax, corporate tax, and property tax. The law was adopted with one vote against and 12 abstentions.

Agricultural Laws Passed

LD0603202190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1550 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber deputies have passed four laws on agriculture. In moving the draft law on changing and supplementing the law on agricultural producer cooperatives [LPG], Agriculture Minister Dr Hans Watzek underlined that the LPG law governed all matters for the cooperatives on which agreement prevailed in the election programs of the parties and organizations, at the roundtable and among cooperative farmers. Further demands and wishes in which very different, and in some cases, controversial views prevailed, could be settled later in a new LPG law. The minister stressed as important the innovations in the supplementary law on the LPG's right of preemption in a purchase, as well as the regulation on repaying compulsory contributions to the inventory for heirs who are not or will not be LPG members.

The minister also spoke on the draft law on the rights of owners of property obtained as a result of the land reform. Like the changes to the LPG law, this law should also serve to adjust all forms of economy and ownership in the country to the demands of a socially and economically oriented market economy. The property rights obtained on the basis of the land reform must be legally protected in a comprehensive way and expanded in line with the changing conditions. This includes treating land reform property as the legal equivalent of other forms of farming property. Asked by a deputy about the validity of these laws after the unification of the two German states, Minister Watzek replied that the laws would be introduced in corresponding negotiations with the FRG.

Deputy Werner Marusch (DBD [Democratic Peasants Party of Germany] parliamentary group) moved the law on transfering publicly owned agricultural land to LPG ownership and the law on support for cooperatives burdened with high loans due to state regimentation. Both drafts would guarantee equality of opportunity for all LPGs and horticultural cooperatives (GPGs) under conditions of a market economy and protect agricultural land as the livelihood of farmers. Land must belong to those who farm it, said the deputy. He noted that farmers' property derived from the land reform was legal and valid private property under international and national law. Resources from the state budget are to be made available for restructuring over 500 LPGs, GPGs, and cooperative farms receiving loans this year. [passage omitted]

Independence for State Bank

LD0603174490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1618 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The bill on a change to the law on the GDR State Bank was passed unanimously and without discussion by the People's Chamber deputies. The GDR's banking system should be reformed without delay if it is to be made ready for a monetary union and economic community with the FRG, the written motion says. For this reason, it is necessary to lift the State Bank's subordination to the Council of Ministers. The bank will, in the future, be independent of the government and will be developed into a central bank. The function as a commercial bank is due to be removed from the State Bank so that the path for the formation of commercial banks of differing types of ownership may be opened up. The task of supervising these and the savings banks will be transferred to the State Bank. An accepted change envisions that the president of the State Bank will present an annual report to the People's Chamber and see to its publication.

Freedom of Trade Approved

LD0603174890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1631 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Every citizen, provided his permament residence or his base is in the GDR, now has the documented right to follow a trade. The law, approved unanimously by parliament, takes freedom of trade for granted. Minister of Light Industry Dr. Guenter Halm said in explanation that all forms of ownership will, in the future, have the same rights and obligations. Furthermore, the law should give broad scope to the entrepreneurial initiative.

The law describes as trade any independent activity undertaken on a permanent basis with the aim of making a profit. Self-employed artistic, medical, legal, scientific, and similar activities do not count as trade. The law entitles traders to employ as many employees as they wish.

Corruption Commission Ended

LD0603200190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1701 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber decided, effective immediately, to dissolve the temporary People's Chamber commission for investigating the abuse of office, corruption, personal enrichment, and other deeds where violation of the law is suspected, and granted its discharge. A motion to this effect was introduced by the commission itself. The entire material of the commission is being handed over to the archives of the People's Chamber. [passage omitted]

Modrow Returns From Moscow

LD0603181190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1625 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber today ended its first day of discussion shortly after 1715. The agenda dealt with 13 points. The meeting will continue on 7 March at 0900 and will open with a briefing from Prime Minister Modrow on his visit to the USSR. The premier took his seat on the government benches late this afternoon, having arrived direct from Moscow.

Chamber Session Resumes

LD0703084390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0814 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber has begun its final day of discussion in its present assembly. Before starting on the agenda, Premier Hans Modrow will inform the deputies of the results of the visit to the USSR by the government delegation that he led. The bills on the foundation and activities of private companies, company ownership, and the sale of public buildings, already discussed on 6 March are to be discussed again. No decision was reached on 6 March because of numerous objections from deputies.

Also on the agenda today is a decision on the outlines of a social charter and on state commitments for the protection and the promotion of culture and art, as well as a law on the treaty between the GDR and Denmark on dispensing withe legalization of documents. GDR Television will carry a live relay of the parliamentary debate on its second program.

Modrow Addresses Chamber

LD0703095390 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0834 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Speech by Premier Hans Modrow to the People's Chamber in East Berlin on 7 March]

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—It is my concern to report to you about the working visit of a government delegation to Moscow. In view of the great significance attached to the Moscow talks with regard to the predictable growing together of the two German states and to future cooperation with the Soviet Union, I regard it as my duty to immediately inform this high house, and thereby at the same time the public, about the most important results of the meeting with the Soviet side. It should be noted in this connection that this meeting accorded with the wishes of all the coalition partners in the government, who presented their standpoints in the talks.

This visit had the intention of discussing more closely with the Soviet state leadership and government those questions that are linked to the process of the unification of the two German states. We regarded the talks as necessary as this time in view of the fact that the Soviet Union is the GDR's most important trading and alliance partner, with whom we are linked by close cooperation over decades.

First, however, I would like on this occasion to comment on two equally topical questions that very directly affect the interests of the citizens of the GDR. First of all, monetary union with the Federal Republic. The GDR Government emphatically opposes the speculation that has been started in recent days about the date and the financial details. Such speculation is only likely to make the citizens of the GDR feel insecure. And obviously this is precisely the intention of those who are speaking of decisions allegedly already reached. Such rumors have been fed not least by the fact that a member of the Central Bank Council of the Bundesbank has made available to a news magazine the material of a meeting of the council on the subject of monetary union. It is surely not by chance that this material, containing alleged exchange rates and so on, was published immediately prior to the second meeting of the GDR-FRG joint commission, which met in Bonn on 5 March and is to prepare the monetary union.

I call upon all those responsible in the Federal Republic to put a stop to all practices that could damage serious preparation for the currency union. Confidentiality has been agreed for the work of the experts commission, and this should be adhered to. I would also remind the FRG media of its duty to be careful.

It is also asserted in the FRG that there was a proposal for currency union to which the GDR Government did not respond. The truth is that before the visit to Bonn, my government learned from the press that there were to be negotiations with us on a currency union as swiftly as possible. But there was never a detailed proposal from the Bonn side. Rather, the GDR proposed the appointment of the commission of experts, and this was then agreed in Bonn. I must make it quite clear here which side was pushing forward in hectic haste and spreading rumors.

Now it is becoming clear that a currency union cannot be rushed through, but should be prepared in an orderly fashion. We said this from the start, and I have stated here in the People's Chamber that my government is neither willing nor authorized to enter into a currency union with the FRG. This can only be decided by the new parliament and by the new government after 18 March. Preliminary work is now being done for this.

We hope that no attempts will be made to disturb this preliminary work nor to cause further uncertainty to the GDR citizens through rumors spread here. And I say once again to all the citizens: Leave your money in the savings accounts, where it will be in the safest hands. And the experts in my government, in preparing for a currency union, have the duty from the outset to safeguard the social interests of the GDR citizens. This principle has been a fundamental concern of my government ever since we began our work in November 1989.

A second observation: You know, esteemed deputies, of the remarkable wave-like movements in the Federal Republic on the question of Poland's western border, that is, on the question of the eastern border of a future greater Germany. On behalf of my government, I have on several occasions spoken out quite unequivocally on this, in Bonn, in Warsaw, and in Berlin. The federal chancellor has not done this so far. He has remained evasive and ambiguous.

On 3 March, Mr. Kohl and I received identical telexes from Washington, signed by 32 U.S. senators. They stated: All ambiguity regarding the German border with Poland should be cleared up as soon as possible. Both the FRG and the GDR have concluded separate agreements with Poland recognizing the present border with Poland as definitive. With reference to these agreements, the 32 U.S. senators recommend that the two German states and Poland should immediately begin negotiations to make the two agreements one. This new accord should now be agreed, initialed, and then ratified by the future parliament of a united Germany. This process could run parallel to the two-plus-four negotiations. We feel, the telex continues, that such action would dispel Poland's justified concern and facilitate German unification.

The GDR Government is willing right away to negotiate the new joint agreement with Poland proposed by the U.S. senators. As far as we are concerned, it could be swiftly prepared and initialed with the aim of removing each and every doubt that the Oder-Neisse line is not only the GDR's eastern border with Poland and the Polish western border with the GDR, which we have always known, but that this will also be and will remain the border of the future German federal state with Poland. The federal chancellor should comment on this, and the response of the Polish premier, I believe, will be a positive one. Of this I am quite sure.

Now, more thoroughly on our working visit in Moscow-...[ADN notation] It was, as recently in Bonn, certainly important to declare publicly through such a delegation: Our government of national responsibility, to which 13 parties have declared their support, has in a short time become a viable working body. And it can also, with all due modesty, qualify as a type of model, as a viable solution for the path to a democratic society, characterized by a diversity of parties.

Nothing was to be anticipated by the Moscow talks held by the government delegation. Rather, it was necessary to act responsibly in this important area, too, until the People's Chamber elections. The aim was also to create a solid basis for the work of the future GDR cabinet.

My government was not and is not aiming to leave as many problems as possible behind for its successor. The legacy taken over in November 1989 was and is in any case difficult enough, and it will continue to be a difficult one to bear. The task of our period of office, originally due to run until May, had to be to limit the damage, to avert the existing damage to the people of the GDR, and to prepare necessary and possible steps for a new, democratic order, particularly in economic policy and linked with social safeguards.

In the Moscow talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, Premier Ryzhkov, and deputies of the Supreme Soviet, we were in agreement that the current developments in Europe, and the German issue that is embedded in them, is of great worldwide significance for the future of the Germans in East and West, and for the development on the European continent and the world community of peoples.

I have assured my interlocutors that we in the GDR are willing to bring friendship and good neighborliness into the future relations between Germany and the Soviet Union. No German state has the right to ignore history. Rather, the future German state has the duty and the opportunity to use the experiences of history for the future, and to preserve and bring to new development all the trust that has been created in German-Soviet relations. This agreement, in my view, is extraordinarily important for the further process of German unification.

And on my return from Moscow I would like to emphasize once again today that in all that develops between the two German states, we are concerned for unification, not for annexation or absorption. The viewpoint of the GDR Government is fully shared in Moscow, and not only there. This in no way rules out purposeful and speedy negotiations on a gradual, level-headed unification.

The politicians of the two German states bear responsibility for taking into consideration, at every step of the way, the present and future consequences for the citizens of their states and the serious concerns of the European peoples. Anyone who fosters illusions during the election camapign abut German-German development must fall under suspicion of rating his own political intentions higher than the direct vital interests of the citizens in East and West. No one should attempt—and here I will borrow a phrase from Mikhail Gorbachev in yesterday's talk—to make the people the scourge of his own political ambitions. The German unification process should not—and this is the view of all European governments—detract from or run counter to the fundamental interests of other states.

It must be bound up with European development in various ways and cannot decouple itself from the European unification process. This requires a highly responsible stance and predictable actions by the two German states, together with readiness for cooperation, particularly on the part of their neighbors and the Four Powers.

In our talks with the Soviet side, we have met this readiness and willingness to cooperate. The Moscow talks have strengthened me, and I believe also the other members of the government delegation, in our view that the central question of the unification of Germany is the safeguarding of peace, stability, and security, and consequently the maintenance of the European balance.

I would like to sum up the results of the Moscow talks as follows:

First of all, the position of a future united German state in the political and military structures was discussed. The Soviet stance on this question is well known. It pursues the logic that the preservation of stability in Europe rules out the integration of the future German state in NATO. A solution to this problem can be found if all the parties involved strive for it with realism and goodwill. It will prove to be an historical error to believe that the world's global problems can be solved through a new approach in the East European states alone.

Second, the border question I have already mentioned also occupied a special place in our Moscow talks. The Soviet Union, too, attaches great weight to the unambigious recognition, which is absolutely binding in international law, of the Oder-Neisse border by the GDR, the FRG, and the future German state.

Third, the unification of the two German states should promote a European peace order in the widest sense; I relate this, above all, to the rapid continuation of the disarmament process. Clearly a special obligation regarding disarmament will emerge from the process of unification. The GDR already fulfills this obligation to a high degree. We also recognized great readiness on the Soviet side in this regard. The government of the federal republic continues to remain lacking in this matter.

Fourth, those questions connected with the responsibility of the Four Powers for Germany as a whole were mentioned in Moscow. It was also clear in the treatment of this problem area that German-German talks should be coordinated as soon as possible with the preparations for the conference of the six, that is, the two German states and the Four Powers, and that they should run parallel as soon as possible. We are dealing here with complicated questions because with unification of both German states and Berlin, the preconditions under which sovereign rights of the Four Powers have been maintained to date would disappear. The German state would be able to realize its sovereignty in the community of the European peoples in a stable order of world peace, as is the case with all other European peoples. Readiness and understanding for such a settlement exists on the Soviet side.

Fifth, in connection with the coming unification of both German states, we also spoke in Moscow on the perspectives for economic cooperation. As is known, this has a special weight and a large range both for the GDR and for the Soviet Union. That also applies, incidentally, to the foreign trade of the Federal Republic with the CEMA states. There was agreement on fulfilling the the various mutual obligations in all questions of the unification process. At the same time, both sides must face the new realities linked to the requirements of the market economy.

A promising potential for future German-Soviet economic relations could without doubt develop from the cooperation, rich in tradition, between the GDR and the USSR. The Soviet Union attaches great importance to this. The best experiences of this cooperation will be important elements of the bridging function to Eastern Europe, which enterprises and institutions of the GDR will bring into the joint German state.

In the talks with the Soviet leadership, we also explained the necessity of maintaining the distribution of property in the GDR. We feel committed to this, not least because of the historical development of the GDR in the immediate postwar era. We found approval and support for our viewpoint.

This statement and the corresponding accompanying letters to Mikhail Gorbachev and to Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl were discussed and unanimously approved by the government. Moreover, this statement was explained and commented on publicly by Minister Dr. Ulmann at the news conference on 1 March and published on 2 March.

Finally, I would like once again to come back to an earlier comment from Mikhail Gorbachev, that it is up to the Germans to make decisions on their own affairs. We—and this is the opinion of all government members with me in Moscow—see this as a great vote of confidence in the Germans on the part of the Soviet Union. We feel it is our duty, and I would like to include the future government in this, to do justice to this confidence. Indeed, the need and the opportunity are becoming increasingly apparent for replacing past conflict in Europe with future cooperation.

Cooperation in Europe includes cooperation amongs Germans. We should all remember this. The unification of Germany can be achieved only through cooperation between the GDR and the FRG, not through conflict. The GDR Government delegation has returned from Moscow with increased certainty on this. Allow me to say in conclusion, that there can be no other path to the unity of the German fatherland than that on which both German states tread as equal partners, in agreement with their neighbors and the Four Powers, and which is easily comprehensible and predictable to all peoples. It is my desire that this certainty should also determine the action of the future cabinet.

Social Charter Approved

LD0703095890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0904 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber plenum made a decision, with three votes against and 11 abstentions, on the basic line and standpoints for a social charter. It was set out beforehand by Ministers Tatjana Boehm and Gerd Poppe. The charter, into which comments from the parties and groupings at the roundtable were incorporated, is directed toward an economic and currency union that includes an interlocking social system. German unity should be brought about on the path of a mutual reform process of both German social security systems in their positive characteristics, says the decision. It is being handed on to the FRG's Bundestag.

Resolution on Culture, Art

LD0703111490 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0909 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—A resolution has been adopted by the People's Chamber on state obligations for the protection and promotion of culture and art. Culture Minister Dr. Dietmar Keller underlined in explaining this that no cultural assets or establishments indispensable to the continued existence of an autonomous democratic culture should be surrendered.

Law on Assembly Passes

LD0703112190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0944 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The People's Chamber today passed unanimously the law on assembly. It creates legal conditions for the basic right of citizens to assemble peacefully. The law precludes assemblies of an antihumanist nature.

Laws on Private Ownership

LD0703112690 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0955 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The GDR People's Chamber today passed laws on the foundation and activities of private enterprises and on enterprise investment, as well as on the sale of public buildings.

Modrow Gets Standing Ovation

LD0703110790 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1016 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The deputies of the People's Chamber thanked Hans Modrow with a standing ovation on Wednesday for his self-sacrificing activity at the head of the Council of Ministers. Parliament President Maleuda had in his concluding words personally praised the prime minister as a politician and as a person. The government, elected by the People's Chamber and called to account by it, has faced very great responsibilities during these fateful times, he said to the assenting applause of the plenum.

Chamber Ends 18th Session

LD0703103890 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1002 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—The 18th session of the People's Chamber concluded on 7 March in Berlin shortly afer 1100. Parliamentary President Maleuda wished the deputies of the 10th election period, who are being elected on 18 March in free, universal, equal, direct, and secret elections, successful work. In accordance with paragraph 26 of the business order of the People's Chamber, the Presidium continues its activity until the new election of the body.

Text of Civilian Alternative Service Law

AU0203143090 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU in German 27 Feb 90 p 14

[8 February law on civilian alternative service drawn up "with the essential participation of the Evangelical Church"]

[Text]

Principles

Section 1

(1) Male GDR citizens who refuse military service for reasons of belief or conscience have the right to do civilian alternative service. Civilian alternative service is a social service to the people.
(2) Civilian alternative service can be done in enterprises and institutions of the health and social sector, of the ambulance service, and in the communal services (facilities are listed subsequently) [as published], independent of their legal status.
(3) GDR citizens who have to do civilian alternative service as a result of the declaratory decree or who do or have done civilian alternative service do not belong to the National People's Army or its reserve.

Section 2

(1) The right to do civilian alternative service for the reasons mentioned in Section 3, Paragraph 1 [as published], applies to
a) citizens who have not yet done military service;
b) soldiers doing basic military service and reserve service, as well as draftees who do a service that corresponds to basic military service, according to the military service law;
c) men who have served as reservists.
(2) The statement declaring one's desire to do civilian alternative service has to be put into writing. It is to be substantiated and should contain ideas about potential areas of work. Written certificates of technical or special skills are to be included.
(3) Work in the district area or in its proximity is to be striven for, however, there can be no claim for work in a special place or in a special institution.

Section 3

(1) Civilian alternative service lasts 12 months. Drafting takes place from the time a person has completed his 18th year until 31 December of the year in which his 23d year has been completed. A person may be drafted again up to three times for two months each. These drafts may take place until 31 December of the year in which his 30th year is completed.

(2) The period of already completed military service or a service that corresponds to military service is to be subtracted from the period of civilian alternative service.
(3) Draftees who have avoided civilian alternative service or did not fulfill their duty to furnish information in line with Section 8, Paragraph 3, Subparagraph e) of this decree, may be drafted for civilian alternative service until 31 December of the year in which they complete their 35th year.

Procedures

Section 4

(1) The statement declaring one's desire to do civilian alternative service is to be addressed to the responsible district recruiting headquarters. It is to be submitted after the announcement of the medical examination before enlistment, at the latest after receiving the summons for the medical examination or in preparation for a review of the draft. It does not release the person in question from the duty to follow the summons to the medical examination before enlistment or to the review of the draft.
(2) The district recruiting headquarters confirms the receipt of the statement in writing to the draftee. The statement is to be sent by the head of the district recruiting headquarters to the director of the Labor Office of the responsible district council within one week after receipt.
(3) In the case mentioned in Section 2, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph b) the statement is to be addressed to the responsible commander or head of the military post, who has to send the statement to the director of the Labor Office responsible for the place of residence of the draftee within one week.

Declaratory Statement

Section 5

The director of the Labor Office of the district council issues a statement on accepting the draftee into civilian alternative service, providing that the draftee's statement is complete in accordance with Section 2, Paragraph 2.

Temporary Deferment From Civilian Alternative Service

Section 6

(1) At the request of state organizations, enterprises, and institutions, citizens eligible for civilian alternative service may be temporarily deferred from civilian alternative service if they are indispensable.
(2) At the request of a person eligible for civilian alternative service, he may be temporarily deferred from civilian alternative service if drafting him at the planned time would constitute a considerable hardship because of his family obligations or of other facts. A temporary deferment from civilian alternative service because of planned university or technical school studies is not possible.
(3) Requests in line with Sections 1 and 2 are to be addressed to the director of the Labor Office of the district council. The director then presents the request to the commission for decision, in line with Section 17.
(4) The director of the Labor Office of the district council informs the requesting person of the decision within four weeks of receipt of the request. Sections 18 and 19 are applicable correspondingly.
(5) Temporary deferment from civilian alternative service must not prevent drafting for civilian alternative service.

Transition From Civilian Alternative Service to Military Service

Section 7

(1) During their civilian alternative service, persons doing this kind of service may apply for basic military service. The application is to be addressed to the director of the responsible Labor Office of the district council, who immediately sends it to the head of the responsible district recruiting headquarters.
(2) The application is decided by the head of the district recruiting headquarters within 14 days; a negative decision is to be substantiated in writing and has to contain information about the right to appeal.
(3) If the application was not granted, the person doing civilian alternative service may complain to the chief of the area recruiting headquarters. The chief of the area recruiting headquarters makes a final decision. A negative decision is to be substantiated in writing and has to contain information about the possibility of judicial review.
(4) Submitting an application does not exempt the applicant from doing civilian alternative service until the final decision is made.

Duty To Furnish Information

Section 8

(1) Draftees who have expressed their desire to do civilian alternative service are subject to the duty to furnish information in line with the Military Service Law until their acceptance into civilian alternative service has been decided.
(2) After they have been accepted into civilian alternative service, these citizens are required to furnish information to the director of the Labor Office of the district council until they have concluded their civilian alternative service.
(3) The information to be furnished comprises:
a) change of name;
b) change of workplace, of job, or training;
c) medically certified serious defects of one's health and restrictions of efficiency;
d) the date of the intended start and the probable duration of university and technical school studies;
e) the disappearance of reasons that brought about a temporary deferment from civilian alternative service;

f) temporary departure from the GDR, if this stay is intended to take longer than two months.
(4) The information is to be provided in writing.
(5) The director of the Labor Office of the responsible district council may order the person eligible for civilian alternative service to appear in person, if necessary, to supply additional personal documents or to clear up problems that concern civilian alternative service. The summons for personal appearance in the Labor Office has to be answered.

Ascertainment of Physical Fitness

Section 9

Before a person is used for civilian alternative service, the draftee's physical fitness for the planned specific work is to be ascertained. The director of the Labor Office of the district council arranges a medical examination for this purpose.

Drafting

Section 10

(1) The drafting for civilian alternative service is carried out through an official notice by the director of the Labor Office of the district council. The official notice contains the time of the start of service and of the regular end of service, the name of the institution in which civilian alternative service is to be done, as well as information about the legal consequences if the official notice is not heeded. A complaint against stipulations of the official notice is to be made at the Office for Labor and Wages of the responsible area council within one week after receiving the notice. It is permissible only if the official notice violates legal regulations. The complaint does not effect a delay. A decision is made within two weeks; it is final.
(2) The official notice establishes employment by the Office of Labor of the district council. The employment starts at the date mentioned in the official notice. During the employment, the person doing civilian alternative service is permitted to transfer from the institution mentioned in the official notice only with the approval of the director of the Office of Labor of the district council.
(3) Drafting for civilian alternative service of persons applying for studies is made before the beginning of the studies, if these studies are not started before the beginning of the 18th year of age.

General Service Duties

Section 11

(1) Persons doing civilian alternative service have basic rights and basic duties in line with the GDR Constitution. The specific rights and duties resulting from the requirements of civilian alternative service are to be set down by the minister of labor and wages in a service regulation.
(2) Persons doing civilian alternative service have to follow the service regulations and the specific legal regulations and normative orders, which apply in the relevant institution and have to fulfill their tasks conscientiously and with initiative.

Section 12

(1) Citizens who are drafted for civilian alternative service do not swear an oath of allegiance or take a vow.
(2) Citizens who are doing or have done military service or a service that corresponds to military service are relieved from their oath of allegiance or their oath of office or vow as soon as they are accepted into civilian alternative service.

Organization and Leadership

Section 13

(1) The minister of labor and wages plans and organizes the drafting and use of people eligible for civilian alternative service in coordination with the heads of the responsible state and nongovernmental organs and institutions.
(2) The minister of labor and wages appoints an advisory council for questions of civilian alternative service, which advises him concerning all matters of civilian alternative service and exercises democratic control.
(3) In disciplinary matters people doing civilian alternative service are subordinate to the head of the institution in which they are doing their service. He sets down the service in line with the requirements of the daily work of the respective institution.

Changing the Official Notice

Section 14

(1) Persons doing civilian alternative service may be transferred to another place of service for service reasons or in case of difficult personal conditions. The decision about this is made by the director of the Labor Office of the district council who has drawn up the official notice, by changing the official notice.
(2) If applications for transfer because of difficult personal conditions are rejected, action can be taken in line with Sections 18 and 19.

Care and Accommodation

Section 15

(1) Persons doing civilian alternative service are entitled to material and financial care, and medical care, as well as leave like soldiers doing basic military service. This goes for the financial and social care of dependents.
(2) All claims resulting from civilian alternative service are equal to those resulting from basic military service.
(3) The claims mentioned in Paragraphs 1 and 2 are to be set down specifically in the service regulations, and necessary adjustments of existing legal provisions are to be made.

(4) Accommodation for the persons doing civilian alternative service is provided by the institution in which the civilian alternative service is being done, providing that the institution is not close to the place of residence of the person doing civilian alternative service.

Discharge

Section 16

(1) Discharge from civilian alternative service takes place after the expiration of the period set down in Section 3, Paragraphs 1 and 2.
(2) Early discharge may take place for health reasons or because of temporary deferment in accordance with Section 6. Applications for early discharge are decided by the commission in accordance with Section 17.
(3) Civilian alternative service is extended by one day for each unauthorized absence from service lasting between 6 and 24 hours.
(4) If a prison term is ordered during civilian alternative service, the period of civilian alternative service is to be extended correspondingly.
(5) The director of the Office for Labor of the district council informs the heads of the institutions in which civilian alternative service is being done about the date of discharge, and they in turn have to tell the persons doing civilian alternative service.

Commissions

Section 17

(1) The district assembly appoints its own commission, which is responsible for questions of civilian alternative service. Members are the director of the Labor Office of the district council as chairman and four or six other persons, including one man doing civilian alternative service.
(2) Concerning all decisions that affect persons eligible for civilian alternative service or doing civilian alternative service, these persons have to be given the opportunity to comment. In particular, the person eligible for or doing civilian alternative service has the right to be heard by the commission.
(3) Decisions by the commission are made with a simple majority of votes and are issued in the form of a notice. Every decision of the commission is to be sent to the person eligible for or doing civilian alternative service with a substantiation and information on legal recourse.
(4) The area assembly appoints a commission that is responsible for questions of civilian alternative service. Members are the director of the Office for Labor and Wages of the area council as chairman, as well as four or six other persons, including one man doing civilian alternative service.

Legal Remedies

Section 18

(1) The legal remedy of complaint is permissible against decisions by the commission. The complaint is to be made in writing within two weeks after the receipt of the commission's decision to the director of the Labor Office of the district council in his capacity as chairman of the commission. If he does not grant the complaint, it has to be sent on to the director of the Office for Labor and Wages of the area council within two weeks.
(2) The area Commission for Civilian Alternative Service makes a final decision within four weeks. The commission's decision is to be sent in writing to the complainant. If the complaint is rejected, the possibility of judicial review is to be pointed out.

Judicial Review

Section 19

(1) If the citizen's complaint is rejected, he may apply for judicial review of decisions made in line with this decree within 14 days. The court may decide independently on the matter.
(2) The district court of the regional area to which the administrative organs that made the first decision belongs is responsible for carrying out the proceedings.
(3) The proceedings are covered by the regulations of the law on the responsibility and the proceedings of courts for the review of administrative decisions of 23 December 1988 (Legal Gazette I, No. 28, p 327).

Section 20

Complaints and applications for judicial review in line with this decree effect a delay, except in the case of Section 2, Paragraph 1, Subparagraph b).

Regulations for Administrative Fines

Section 21

(1) Whoever is deliberately absent from civilian alternative service in order to avoid or to bring about an end to this service may be punished with a reprimand or with an administrative fine of 10 to 500 GDR marks.
(2) Whoever deliberately or negligently
a) does not immediately fulfill his duty to furnish information in line with Section 8;
b) does not duly answer the summons for personal appearance in line with Section 8, Paragraph 5;
c) does not duly obey the official notice,

may also be called to account.
(3) An administrative fine of up to 1,000 GDR marks may be imposed if a deliberate administrative offense in line with Paragraphs 1 and 2 is committed as a result of striving for advantages.
(4) Holding proceedings on administrative offenses is the responsibility of the director of the Labor Office of the responsible district council.
(5) The holding of the proceedings on administrative offenses and the imposition of administrative sanctions are covered by the law on combating administrative offenses of 12 January 1968 (Legal Gazette I, No. 3, p 101)

Coming Into Force and Follow-Up Regulations

Section 22

(1) This decree comes into force on 1 March 1990.
(2) The minister of labor and wages issues implementation regulations for this decree.

Berlin, 8 February 1990
GDR Council of Ministers
Chairman
Minister of Labor and Wages.

Decree on Early Benefits Goes Into Effect

AU0603101690 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Mar 90 p 1

[ADN report: "Support Up to 1,000 GDR Marks"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—On 1 March 1990, the minister for labor and wages passed the second implementation regulation on the early retirement benefits decree. Working people who end their employment because they are not suited for their work for health reasons or because of structural changes or rationalization measures will be granted enterprise support as of the fifth year before their reaching retirement age.

One of the basic conditions for early retirement is that the employing enterprise is not able to provide the working person with appropriate work, also not in another enterprise. Early retirement benefit received in addition to a medical pension are granted up to a total amount of 1,000 GDR marks. Since early retirement benefits are based on net wages, the contributions due to the obligatory social insurance from the early retirement benefits by the working people are to be covered by the enterprises; the enterprises are compensated for their expenditures from the state budget.

[East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German on 3-4 March on page 2 carries a correction to the above article, which says that "early retirement benefits are payable, as is set down in the corresponding decree, to the extent of 70 percent of average net income. The limitation to 1,000 GDR marks per month applies exclusively to working medical pensioners who go into early retirement. If the medical pension and the early retirement benefits together exceed te upper limit of 1,000 GDR marks, the early retirement benefit will be reduced by the corresponding amount. This limitation does not apply to recipients of pensions for the blind and special-care benefits."]

Boehme Says SPD To Seek Partners

LD0603103190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0017 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Berlin (ADN)—Completely irrespective of the election results on 18 March, there will not be a government in the GDR consisting solely of the SPD [Social Democratic Party]. Even if it receives an absolute majority in parliament, the GDR SPD will look for partners. The leader of the GDR Social Democrats, Ibrahimi Boehme, said this to TRIBUENE in Moscow during his visit to the USSR. However, he was not prepared to name the parties, he said in the interview, published today.

"What we want is not a social-democratic society but one that is social and democratic," Boehme said. "Conceivable partners for this would perhaps be certain forces in the Alliance and parties that are more authoritative in agricultural questions and questions concerning farmers than we have been so far. The same applies to trade union questions, where we hope for reinforcement, particularly from the liberal sector."

No Unity 'In the Style of Kohl'

AU0603120290 Hamburg DIE WELT in German 6 Mar 90 p 4

[Report on interview with Social Democratic Party Chairman Ibrahim Boehme by Detlev Ahlers in Gera; date not given]

[Text] Our conversation in the hall of the Interhotel in Gera was often interrupted. Ibrahim Boehme (44), the Social Democratic Party of Germany's [SPD] candidate for the office of premier, jumped up several times that night to welcome friends made at the time he was librarian in the Thuringian city of Greiz, more than 20 years ago, to receive encouraging statements by a Christian Democratic Union [CDU] businessman, and exchange jokes with the author of "Eulenspiegel." His tone then becomes humorous, his gestures fast and coquettish—however, as soon as he returns to his seat he becomes serious and concentrated, even after this long election day. His ideas are not expressed casually, and whenever a joke comes to his mind he asks the interviewer to immediately turn off the tape recorder. Those who vote for Boehme support a man of the people, who, at each stop of his election campaign, stays with friends, or to be more precise, drinks tea at midnight in living rooms, draws up plans for the future, compares constitutions within a circle of friends, thus finding personal closeness and warmth.

Talking about constitutions: Boehme's SPD strictly rejects the GDR's accession to the FRG under Article 23 of the Basic Law; this would mean "annexation in the style of Kohl." He wants to "negotiate with self-confidence," and attain a "unification process with self-respect and dignity." The People's Chamber must work out what is necessary so that "Article 146 of the Basic Law" and the "positive experiences of the people in the GDR will be preserved." However, will the danger then arise that a united Germany tumbles into a constitutional crisis within the next few months (Boehme believes that the People's Chamber will exist "for another year or two")?

What is the advice he gives to West Germans who consider it unnecessary to change their own, good Constitution, only because the GDR's is worthless?

"The Basic Law, which was described as provisional by its authors, has decisive advantages," Boehme said.

"The separation of powers, federalism, decentralized structures, employees' rights—these privileges ought to be preserved for the constitution of a united Germany. Nevertheless, there are a number of things that enabled the people here to live well. It is not the majority of things with which they were forced to live. Still, I would like to preserve them, particularly on the difficult road that lies ahead for the people of the GDR: the right to work, the right to education, and the right to housing."

Have these rights really been implemented?

"Not completely, but partially. The right to education was applied in a perverted way. I am not saying that I would like to incorporate these rights into the constitution, but certain elements of what has become a matter of course for the people in this country."

Was the housing right really guaranteed, considering the fact that even now, after 400,000 people have resettled in the FRG in less than one year, those who stayed were immediately hunting for the free apartments?

"That is a good observation," Boehme said. "There is no doubt that the housing right was implemented at the expense of housing quality; there are cases of workers who are kept in quarters like sardines. I certainly do not want homelessness. Let me repeat: I never said that one must rewrite the Constitution (the Basic Law—the editors). All I want is to take with us to the FRG certain social rights that are a matter of course for the citizens here. If possible, I would like to avoid lines in front of social assistance offices, which one can see in the FRG."

Are there legal experts in the SPD and the GDR who are trustworthy in connection with the Constitution? "No, there are not," Boehme stated. "However, we have people—I am thinking of Wolfgang Ullmann, Konrad Weiss, Martin Gutzeit, Ibrahim Boehme—who discuss the question of constitutions, including the Basic Law, which might actually be described as salutary, if a social process can be described as salutary at all. The great advantage of the system of constitutional jurisdiction sometimes leads to the situation that, relying on the disputes between constitutional experts, people are not even familiar with their Basic Law. In the past few years in the GDR, there has been a tendency for people to speak on their own behalf." This ought not to be suppressed by an "annexation." If one wants the people not to be afraid of something new, we must try to take with us the positive things that they have developed."

We must avoid the situation where the GDR population gets the feeling that it has to "jump off a rolling train, change stations, and hop onto another train in the opposite direction."

Saarland as an argument for Article 23? "The Saarland had several years to prepare itself, there was a referendum, and many difficulties of foreign politics did not exist. Considering the fast pace of the current developments in the GDR, people must be offered the opportunity to reflect upon the current situation."

Boehme regards the danger of a constitutional crisis in Germany as "not likely." "I think it is possible that a council of German unity is convened soon—to the Reichstag."

Brandt Addresses Election Rally

LD0603191290 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1655 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Karl-Marx-Stadt (ADN)—Chemnitz [former name of Karl- Marx-Stadt] will continue to develop as a center of industry and science in the future united Germany, and culture will increasingly flourish in the tradition-rich city, said Social Democratic Party [SPD] Honorary Chairman Willy Brandt at an SPD election rally in the Saxon metropolis to the applause of, according to the organizers, a crowd of 150,000. After the 18 March election, a new government must do a good job in the form of an integrated economic and monetary union. In this connection, he stressed: "It is worthwhile staying here and cooperating in a new beginning." German unity cannot mean that all Germans come together again in the west.

Willy Bradt stressed: "We don't want to give lectures, we want to give support." Joint institutions must be created with a very strong element of social security because the weak must not be crushed by the wheels of the train of German unity. Brandt opposes annexation of the GDR by the FRG because there are many separate experiences. It is more a case of joining together on the basis of equality of rights.

Gysi Visits Greifswald Nuclear Power Plant

AU0603094690 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 1 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Nuclear Power Plant: Blocks Were Not Shut Down for Good"]

[Excerpts] Greifswald—A few hours after the shutdown of reactor Block Three of the Greifswald nuclear power plant, Party of Democratic Socialism [PDS] Chairman Gregor Gysi visited the plant on 28 February.

He talked with the working people about the current concerns of the citizens of Greifswald, about the future of their jobs and of the town where 14,500 apartments and 45 enterprises are heated with energy generated by the nuclear power plant. General Manager Rainer Lehmann stressed that Blocks One and Four that are currently operating ensure long-term heating in Greifswald and the supply of energy to the north of the GDR. [passage omitted]

Lehmann stressed that Blocks One to Four should be operated under increased safety regulations and gradually be replaced by four considerably more modern blocks with a new safety concept that are currently under construction or in the stage of planning.

Gregor Gysi warned against the hasty closure of the nuclear power plant as long as there are no acute safety risks. The PDS is in favor of a broad consensus on the future of nuclear energy that can only be achieved on the basis of expert knowledge, and advocates the convening of a European energy conference.

CDU Leader Notes Split Within Alliance

LD0603213690 Hamburg DPA in German 1809 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpts] Hamburg (DPA)—Lothar de Maiziere, chairman of the GDR Christian Democratic Union [CDU], has admitted to differences of opinion within the conservative electoral alliance, Alliance for Germany. In an interview with the TAGESZEITUNG (tomorrow's edition) [7 March], he referred in particular to differences between his party and the German Social Union (DSU), which is close to the Christian Social Union [CSU]. According to de Maiziere, the Federal Republic's CDU and CSU sister parties are responsible for these differences: "This is really a Federal Republic conflict being played out in our country." [passage omitted]

In the interview, de Maiziere advocated accession of the reestablished Lands of the GDR, in accordance with Article 23 of the Basic Law. "But I only support this if the framework conditions of the accession are clearly negotiated. There will be no unconditional accession with the CDU," the party chairman stressed.

The text of the interview was made available to DPA.

NDPD Calls for Social Program

AU0603104490 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 2 Mar 90 p 3

["Th./St." report: "National Democrats Demand: National Levelheadedness"]

[Text] The National Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD] was the first party in the GDR that, already in November 1989 and before the People's Chamber, revived the idea of a German confederation, a politically serious confederation of the GDR and the FRG, for the path toward German unity under today's conditions. Since then it has constructively followed this approach.

Thus, a balanced step-by-step plan for the establishment of Germany's unity as a state in the borders of 1990 has emerged. It is to be implemented smoothly but cautiously, consistently but with national levelheadedness. Every step has to be thoroughly considered in advance and should establish the solid preconditions for the next one. For this purpose, one needs a reliable sense of perspective and realistic farsightedness, in particular for the social effects on the people.

And it must be clear: Nothing works without integration into the overall European process, whose inviolable basic principles have been set down in the CSCE Final Act of Helsinki. Nothing works without internationally binding security guarantees for neighbors on the continent, in particular for direct neighbors.

Therefore, the NDPD categorically is in favor of a sensibly thought-out currency, economic, and social union in complete unity. The FRG's social security net has to be tested for whether it is solid enough for the GDR. Timely conclusions must accompany the process leading to state unity.

Therefore, the NDPD demands as an immediate measure:

—Suitable and socially acceptable programs for retraining and advanced training in line with the needs of the working people, of the economy, and of society;
—social guarantees for people who have been laid off;
—ensuring healthy and performance-promoting competitiveness of young entrepreneurs and protection for their private initiative;
—safeguarding suitable jobs for university graduates;
—guarantees for a reformed education policy, including its social conditions;
—free development of science, arts, culture, and sports without commercial patronage;
—preservation of cultural traditions as a means of national identification;
—legal security for apartments and real estate;
—material benefits for pensioners, including care for handicapped and socially disadvantaged people;
—legal guarantees for saving accounts;
—equal standing and social independence of women, particularly taking into account singles with children;
—protection of civil servants, soldiers, officers, and members of the police through laws applying to civil servants.

In the NDPD's view, these are indispensable conditions for the best possible social security for the people of the GDR. These are tests on the path toward German unity. Everyone has to measure himself and has to accept measurement by them.

Environmental Appeal

AU0603100090 East Berlin BERLINER ALLGEMEINE in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 3

[Unattributed report: "From the Election Program of the National Democrats"]

[Text] NDPD [National Democratic Party of Germany]: For more quality of life!

Environment no longer for free!

Therefore: Protection and preservation of the environment.

Progress must extend to the countryside, also for the benefit of our environment.

A future-oriented energy concept that benefits the environment.

Improving the environment but not for the price of many jobs.

Environmental protection and ecology—part of education and training.

New laws for environmental protection and nature conservation, as well as rural culture; strict checks on their being observed by an Environmental Ministry.

Strict sanctions in case of violations of environmental protection on the basis of a penal code for offenses against environmental protection.

Democratic Renewal Leader on Reunification

PM0603095290 Paris LE FIGARO in French 2 Mar 90 p 3

[Interview with Democratic Renewal Chairman Wolfgang Schnur by Jean-Paul Picaper in Bonn; date not given]

[Text] [Picaper] Have you and your colleagues not come to beg material aid from Bonn, just as Modrow, the Communist, did on 13 February?

[Schnur] Not at all. Our GDR compatriots are living in poverty but we have not come to beg. We want to earn our money ourselves and learn from the West how to earn it.

[Picaper] When will unification take place?

[Schnur] The important thing is that it should happen very quickly. We do not need all these preparatory commissions and councils in which the socialists in the Social Democratic Party of Germany [SPD] are proposing to carry out endless negotiations. Our compatriots in the GDR see things more simply: We are a single people on both sides of the border between the two Germanies.

[Picaper] Some of you are said to be afraid of unity?

[Schnur] The communist Party of Democratic Socialism, the socialist SPD, and the left-wing groups are trying to sow panic. But our emergency program shows that pensions, instead of falling, will finally increase to an appropriate level, and that unemployment can be compensated for by an allowance index-linked to the increase in salaries. Our alliance is the only grouping in the GDR that has competent economists.

[Picaper] Do you reject a mixed economy?

[Schnur] We have remained under tutelage for too long. Most people in the GDR no longer want to hear about communism or socialism with a human face. There is no alternative.

[Picaper] How can you win the elections when between 2,000 and 3,000 of your potential voters cross to the West every day—110,000 since 1 January, 345,000 last year?

[Schnur] Our emergency program gives a signal to all those people. Here, they will have the prospect of an economic and social future and the prospect of their country's unity. Those who now say: We are likely to lose our social gains are in fact the people responsible for this flight.

[Picaper] What is your forecast for the 18 March elections?

[Schnur] I am not making any forecasts. The GDR opinion poll institutes have no experience of elections and their forecasts are subject to caution. One thing is certain: The Alliance for Germany, of which Democratic Renewal will be the pillar, will play a major role after the election.

[Picaper] And what does the East German population expect from this election?

[Schnur] Freedom, nothing but freedom, in a context of social and ecological security, and rapid economic growth. We are sure that we will achieve that. Many foreign and German experts think the GDR has a good chance for growth. That is why we want economic union and unification as soon as possible.

Election Ad of League of Free Democrats

AU0603103090 East Berlin DER MORGEN in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 3

[League of Free Democrats election advertisement]

[Text] You had the left. You do not want the right. It is good that there is now a strong center.

We must not leave our freedom, our future, and our path toward unity to the old left or the new right. What we need now is the great strength of the center: the League of Free Democrats.

The League of Free Democrats is the union of the parties of the liberal center: the German Forum Party (DFP), the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and the Free Democratic Party (FDP).

The League of Free Democrats is the only organization supported by the FRG's FDP.

Therefore, entrust the economy and prosperity to those who are trusted by Otto Count Lambsdorff: the League of Free Democrats.

Therefore, entrust freedom and unity to those who are trusted by Hans-Dietrich Genscher: the League of Free Democrats.

It is good that there is now a strong center.

Therefore, on 18 March vote for the League of Free Democrats—DFP, LDP, FDP—the liberals.

DSU Official on Unity, Oder-Neisse Border

AU0603094990 East Berlin NEUE ZEIT in German 1 Mar 90 p 2

[NZ/ADN report: "Oder-Neisse Border Is Final"]

[Text] Passau (NZ/ADN)—Peter-Michael Diestel, general secretary of the DSU [German Social Union], has come out in favor of a quick accession of the GDR to the FRG. At a joint news conference by DSU and Christian Social Union in Ruhstorf near Passau, he said on 27 February that it seems to him that the accession is "feasible in the short term" in line with Article 23 of the FRG Basic Law. The DSU wants to get rid of the GDR Constitution as quickly as possible.

However, there are also many things in the GDR that one wants to keep. Thus, a common German constitution must also contain the issue of ownership of land. "We do not want to reverse the land reform," the DSU general secretary said. The FRG Basic Law must be more clearly defined and must be supplemented. Asked whether after an accession according to Article 23 it is actually possible to enforce supplementations and exact definitions, Diestel said that first unity has to be achieved and then changes can be discussed.

Concerning the Western demand that a united Germany should be a member of the Atlantic alliance, Diestel stated that the GDR has to bring itself into NATO "at least organizationally." In the long term, the alliances should dissolve.

Asked about the DSU position on the western Polish border, the general secretary said that his party considers the Oder-Neisse border clearly and unambiguously as the final border.

Peter-Michael Diestel also referred to the constitutional complaint by his party about the election law. He noted that the constitutional complaint has achieved its goal; the election law has meanwhile been published.

LPG, GPG Association Founded

AU0603095290 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 2

[ADN report: "Association of LPG's and GPG's Founded"]

[Excerpt] Markkleeberg (ADN)—On 2 March, a central "Cooperative Association of LPG's [agricultural producer cooperatives] and GPG's [horticultural producer cooperatives] was founded in Markkleeberg. It considers itself an independent and voluntary association of agricultural producer enterprises, and intends to preserve the interests of the cooperatives concerning all areas of the national economy, in particular concerning the agricultural machinery industry and the industries providing goods needed for agricultural production. [passage omitted]

Justice Minister Discusses Legal Reform

AU0603085990 Hamburg DER SPIEGEL in German 5 Mar 90 pp 158-165

[Interview with Justice Minister Kurt Wuensche by Thomas Darnstaedt and Axel Jeschke; place and date not given]

[Excerpts] [DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Minister, what will remain of the law of the GDR by the end of this year?

[Wuensche] Well, I hope that we will preserve certain parts of our legal order, particularly in the social and cultural spheres and in the field of education.

[DER SPIEGEL] On the level of the laender?

[Wuensche] In the long run, certain legal characteristics of the laender, which will emerge from the GDR, will be noticeable.

[DER SPIEGEL] If the GDR were to opt for the shortest path to legal unity and declares its entry into the FRG immediately after the elections....

[Wuensche, interrupting] ... then the result would be the adoption of FRG law on a broad level. However, this would mean that the GDR is regarded as something like an irredenta (footnote) ("irredenta" is the historic term for a territory that seeks annexation with the motherland)—and I do not like that.

[DER SPIEGEL] What parts of your Constitution would you like to take with you to the new state?

[Wuensche] Well, primarily parts of our basic laws.

[DER SPIEGEL] I beg your pardon?

[Wuensche] Whether it is correct or not, but so far people basically think that we have guaranteed and somehow implemented mainly social, cultural, and economic rights. In the FRG, the emphasis has been put on civil and political rights. I think it is possible to combine these rights. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Do the citizens in the GDR still know what they are allowed to do and what they are not? Up to now things have been rather complicated: Those who protested against the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] were punished.

[Wuensche] I do not exactly see it that way. This may apply to certain regulations of the political penal code, but not for most others. Yet politically punishable acts are now being abolished almost without any exception.

[DER SPIEGEL] The entire legal system of the GDR was tailored to so-called democratic centralism under the SED leadership. By what legal principles is the legal policy now guided since nobody wants so-called socialist legality anymore?

[Wuensche] We are guided by the classic aspects of the rule of law. Moreover, we need a much greater level of individual freedom. This must clearly pervade the entire legal order. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] In the past, judges always received instructions from the party.

[Wuensche] That is true, even though it was not always obvious at first sight. Yet, even in political legal proceedings, judges have not always only been "compliant executors." Some had courage and put up with personal disadvantages. We want to rehabilitate such judges and—wherever necessary and possible—grant them material compensation.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many such cases are there?

[Wuensche] I receive letters every day, altogether about one dozen so far.

[DER SPIEGEL] How did these judges show their courage?

[Wuensche] Against the expectations expressed by SED secretaries and district leaderships, those judges remained at the lower rim of the range of punishment or even declared people not guilty.

[DER SPIEGEL] What happened to such judges?

[Wuensche] Some of them were transferred to other posts, others were harassed and made to leave the legal profession. Others became legal advisers in enterprises. They did not receive threats to their lives, but had to put up with appreciable disadvantages. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] Have legal investigations or at least disciplinary measures been opened against those state prosecutors that failed to deal with reports of election fraud?

[Wuensche] Legal proceedings have not been opened, and I do not know anything about disciplinary steps.

[DER SPIEGEL] The judicial system of the GDR is in a dilemma. On the one hand people expect it to deal with bad political developments and abuses, while on the other hand it has come under criticism itself.

[Wuensche] This is why it is inevitable that certain accounts be settled. We have already disbanded those departments at the courts that used to deal with political crimes. The directors of the area courts have of course also resigned. Nevertheless, a few things still have to be clarified as far as the personnel is concerned—and we must not forget to differentiate carefully. [passage omitted]

[DER SPIEGEL] How should the victims of the political trials of the past 40 years be rehabilitated?

[Wuensche] First of all, we are examining what we can achieve through annulling verdicts or reopening cases. In the majority of cases this will certainly not be possible, because of the lack of conditions under the law of criminal procedure for a new trial and a due process of law.

[DER SPIEGEL] So why do you not create these conditions?

[Wuensche] On a new legal basis, which will have to be created, a political-moral rehabilitation will take place in all cases where sentences were passed in accordance with regulations that we will now remove from the Legal Code. This is to be linked to claims for compensation.

[DER SPIEGEL] How many such cases are there?

[Wuensche] Some 40,000.

[DER SPIEGEL] Let us assume that somebody was sentenced on the grounds of making disparaging statements in public. What will happen with his sentence?

[Wuensche] If such a verdict cannot be annulled, it will not be formally suspended, but the court will make a sort of declaration of honor and determines the amount of compensation such a person is entitled to.

[DER SPIEGEL] Maybe even the same law that previously passed the sentence on that very person.

[Wuensche] We will be able to avoid this—even by biological processes in the case of proceedings that took place a long time ago.

[DER SPIEGEL] To cut a long story short: The judges apologize to the people.

[Wuensche] One might describe it this way.

[DER SPIEGEL] Mr. Minister, thank you very much for this interview.

New Daily Newspaper Available

AU0403212090 East Berlin BERLINER ZEITUNG in German 24-25 Feb 90 p 2

[ADN report: "DIE TAGESZEITUNG—DDR"]

[Text] East Berlin—"DIE TAGESZEITUNG—DDR" [The Daily—GDR] will be available everywhere in the GDR as of 26 February. The 16-page daily, which will costs 80 pfenning, will be published six times a week by the "Anbau Verlag tageszeitungsgesellschaft mbH" publishing company. The publishing company was founded by GDR authors Martin Stade and Klaus Schlesinger. The daily with a circulation of 60,000 copies, which will be produced at the Berlin printing center, understands itself as a national paper and wants to contribute to the democratic restructuring of the press landscape. The new paper will cooperate closely with the West Berlin daily

TAZ. The two papers have concluded an agreement on the exchange of information and articles.

Human Rights Group Calls for Safeguarding Rights

AU0603110090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Mar 90 p 2

[ND-Annas report: "Human Rights for all"]

[Text] East Berlin—Safeguarding human rights for all GDR citizens and for all people who live in our society, working for reparation and compensation in cases of violations of human rights, and countering discrimination for reasons of race, sex, religion, and politics—this is what was formulated as the main task at a members' assembly of the German Human Rights League in Berlin on 1 March. The league elected international law expert Dr. Heidemarie Wuenscher-Pietzka as its chairwoman and adopted a preliminary statute.

The members' assembly proposed to the GDR Government and to the roundtable to display the "Universal Declaration of Human Rights" of the United Nations before the elections. They called on the GDR prosecutor general to speed up pending rehabilitation procedures. They harshly protested an advertisement by a company in Halle, which shows disregard for human rights [the company advertised for employees without children who attend nurseries, kindergartens, or schools].

Professor Dr. Graefrath said that social rights are the bases of human rights. The fate of the individual shows how rights and justice are implemented.

Amnesty International Branch To Open in Berlin

AU0503133090 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 2 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "'Amnesty' Now Also in the GDR"]

[Excerpt] Leipzig (ADN)—In the future, the worldwide human rights organization Amnesty Internatonal (AI), which was founded in Great Britain in 1961 and received the Nobel Peace Prize in 1977, will also have a branch in the GDR. This is said in a press release sent by "AI" to ADN in Leipzig. According to this report, the association "Amnesty International in the GDR" is to be founded in Berlin on 31 March. [passage omitted]

New Editorial Team To Continue Weekly

AU0503154590 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 3-4 Mar 90 p 3

[ADN report: "DIE ANDERE Continues"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—A new editorial team of the weekly DIE ANDERE has started work in Berlin on 2 March after the old editorial team had resigned the day before. The new DIE ANDERE wants to follow the process of changes closely and, with authentic reports, wants to inform in a qualified and critical way. It, furthermore, wants all those people to have their say who are interested in a community of solidarity [solidaritaetgemeinschaft] and not just contemplate the German navel.

New Forum's, Other Groups' Paper To Reappear

LD0603225190 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1804 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Berlin (ADN)—THE OTHER NEWSPAPER for the New Forum and other grass-roots democratic organizations is to reappear. The newly formed editorial staff of the newspaper informed ADN of this today. They want to attempt "to follow the process of change in the GDR closely and authentically." [passage omitted]

Investigation of Nemeth's Declaration Urged

LD0603233890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] The Hungarian Socialist Workers Party asked the acting National Assembly chairman in an open letter to have Miklos Nemeth's declaration about the putsch attempt investigated. The premier said that some former county leaders of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party were preparing for an armed takeover of power at the beginning of November. Party Chairman Gyula Thurmer is now demanding that Istvan Fodor conduct investigations with the involvement of independent experts. If the declaration rests on real facts, they should initiate legal proceedings; however, according to the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party, if the declaration does not rest on facts, then the National Assembly should condemn the premier for slander.

FIDESZ Says National Summit Unsuccessful

LD0603233190 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] At the election rally held by FIDESZ [Federation of Young Democrats] in Csepel, the federation said that the 5 March national summit was completely unsuccessful. Viktor Orban said that the only positive factor in the talks was that the circle had further narrowed. It transpired for public opinion, too, that out of the 12, only a few parties can be taken seriously. FIDESZ is distressed that apart from the Hungarian Democratic Forum and FIDESZ itself, nobody took a stand for 16 June being the date by which the last Soviet soldier should leave the country. This by the way, according to FIDESZ, does not exclude Soviet military technology being withdrawan at a somewhat slower pace.

Speaking about the November putsch-attempt affair, FIDESZ agrees with the Hungarian Democratic Forum and the Alliance of Free Democrats that preparations for an antistate criminal act are also punishable. Viktor Orban did not doubt that—we quote—the premier shocked public opinion with the idea of the letter he had been clutching to his bosom for months so that the voting citizens should forget that the government and the governing party had built their politics on data that had been collected unconstitutionally.

Socialist Candidates Hold News Conference

LD0603221190 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] [Announcer] The Budapest committee of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] held a news conference today. Erno Kardos reports from there:

[Kardos] Whether in government or in opposition, the Socialist Party is preparing for handling the crisis and for avoiding bankruptcy, declared Judit Csehak, who is presenting herself in the colors of the MSZP in the coming elections. As the minister explained, in the new parliament, the party will strive first of all to promote social legislation, which in Hungary is 50-100 years behind certain developed countries. In the interest of securing citizens' living standards, there is therefore a need for social security, said the departing minister of the departing government, who also explained that she proposed the privatization of the health service primarily so that the funds thus released should reach this area as well. Therefore, she did not want to set up poor and rich health provisions but to create greater knowledge and involvement in this field as well. In the interest of this, by the way, the government next week will provide the opportunity for the authorization of private pharmacies, Judit Csehak said.

Security in society can only be created in a working economy, and today the referee at the imaginary boxing match is already at the count of seven for Hungarian industry, declared (Zsuzsa Szentgyorgyi), who is also an MSZP electoral candidate. As she explained, she left her responsible seat at the ministry because she does not agree with the freezing of exports to the socialist countries. True, she does recognize the constraint on the government's freedom of action, but she still emphasized the importance of retaining the market in the east.

The Socialist Party is announcing the Clean Budapest, Clean Environment movement, said Dr. Karoly Molnar, also an electoral candidate, and he demanded clean elections as well.

At the news conference, the Socialist Party objected that the opposition hung their own posters on top of MSZP posters that were placed at the height of four meters, even though they have signed the electoral code. This can be regarded as a violation, said the representative of the MSZP at the news conference.

Left-Wing Youth Association Discusses Elections

LD0603214890 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Anna Lengyel report on news conference by the Left-Wing Youth Association; place and date not given]

[Text] The Left-Wing Youth Association held a news conference on participation in the elections and the utilization of party assets. They are not putting forward their own candidates. Chairman Peter Kiss justified this by saying that they are not becoming an independent party, but in some form they would still like to participate in the elections. Therefore, they are supporting candidates of other parties in 31 places in the capital, the majority of them candidates of the Socialist Party, two of them independent election candidates. They are supporting candidates who have outlined in their programs the generational questions of environmental protection, education, housing, and employment policies and, of course, possible solutions to them. Two of them were present at the news conference.

All the candidates supported by the association, because of their age, feel these problems to be their own. The Left-Wing Youth Association entered into an electoral pact with the Socialist Party. In accordance with this, the future parliamentary group of the Socialist Party, on the basis of joint expert consultation, undertakes to represent the association. They are publishing a statement in which they are calling on the people to take part in the elections.

The second item on the agenda would have qualified as a rhetorical question: What did the multiparty system bring us? They have distributed a list among the journalists about what buildings the parties had received. For example, in District 3, a building that had previously housed different clubs, held language courses, and also had a cinema became a party office. In District 17, a disco that used to be open on Fridays and Saturdays had been turned into a party office. There will be a solution after the parliamentary elections, they hope.

Minister Favors Creation of Competition Law

LD0503162890 Budapest MTI in English 1235 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian Minister of Justice, Mr Kalman Kulcsar, feels that parliament should create a competition law and set up a cartel office as soon as possible.

Until such moves are made, the deregulation law passed by parliament last week reinvests the founding organizations of companies—in most cases, the ministries—with the right to dismantle large companies in a monopoly position into smaller units.

A few years ago, the Hungarian ministries were deprived of their proprietorial functions: such functions, including the dismantling of companies, were delegated to the company council or assembly, the elected, self-administrational bodies of companies.

The government does not intend to change this system of company management in any fundamental way. At least, not for the time being, because it believes that within a few years, companies will, in any case, convert into limited companies, plcs [public limited companies] and other forms.

Since, however, waiting for things to take their own course would involve heavy losses to large companies in a monopoly position, the new deregulation law gives back the ministries the right to dismantle such companies if the country's interests so require.

Another important feature of the deregulation law is that it speeds up the liquidation of companies: insolvency, instead of prolonged insolvency, is now sufficient grounds for proceedings to be launched.

Under the law, liquidation proceedings can be initiated against a company if its liabilities exceed its assets or the sequestration procedure has been unsuccessful. Organizations which stop paying their bills altogether will also be considered insolvent.

Grosz Discusses Transition, MSZMP's Future

AU0603104290 Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 3 Mar 90 p 9

[Report on interview with Karoly Grosz, Hungarian Socialist Workers Party (MSZMP) member, by Lorinc Szendrei in Budapest on 2 March: "I Do Not Believe in Peaceful Transition—Karoly Grosz on the Old and New MSZMP"]

[Text] We fixed a meeting weeks ago. Karoly Grosz recently gave lectures in various parts of the country; therefore, we had to coordinate our timing several times. Then came the events in Leninvaros. The events there wore him out, so much so that he would have gladly given up the planned interview. However, he finally did agree to answer my questions at the latest session of the parliament.

The Model Has Failed

[Szendrei] When you were first secretary of the Borsod county committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], you said in front of leaders of the Communist Youth Association [KISZ] that the workers and demonstrators who took to the streets should count on facing the workers' militia, policemen, and possibly even soldiers.

[Grosz] I do not remember this.

[Szendrei] There are people who remember this and several other statements that caused anxiety. If you could exercise today any of your former positions of power, would you order the combat police to face the demonstrators in Leninvaros?

[Grosz] I would not order the combat police into the streets either for my own defense or for any other people's defense. At the same time, I must say that the police acted correctly when they allowed the demonstrations. However, they made a mistake when they failed to disperse the groups of provocateurs. Therefore, I do not believe in a peaceful transition. I have never believed in this.

[Szendrei] What do you believe in? In weapons?

[Grosz] The counterpoint is somewhere else. A transition is always carried out in a struggle. However, this struggle has two ends. There is struggle fought with political means, and there is struggle fought with administrative means. Weapons belong to the latter. I regard the political struggle as a possible way. Besides, this is precisely what is taking place now; namely, stressing the peaceful transition and misleading the people. There is no peaceful transition even during a change in the model, let alone during a change in regime.

[Szendrei] What kind of party is the MSZMP? A communist party, a workers' party, a socialist party?

[Grosz] Our program provides a clear answer to this question. The MSZMP is a left-wing workers party that also includes communist and socialist values. Because other parties are also including these values, it is still difficult to differentiate at the moment.

[Szendrei] The communist parties led the countries in East Europe. One after the other, the previous leaders turn out to be liars and corrupt people who became gangsters. With such a fraternal past, how does the MSZMP feel?

[Grosz] The MSZMP has been fraternal with movements and parties and not with the leaders, and it feels quite comfortable with these movements and parties. Looking at it shortsightedly, the changes currently under way in the socialist world have brought a lot of internal dirt, tensions, and injustice to the surface. With its structural mechanism and its leaders, this model originating from the Soviet formation failed to follow the technical and scientific revolution and the changes in the individual and community rights.

[Szendrei] In other words, this model has failed.

[Grosz] Yes, it has. However, this does not make me conclude that the entire idea has failed.

[Szendrei] Young people are the future of every party. However, we see very few young people in the MSZMP.

[Grosz] This party is only two months old....

[Szendrei] It depends how you look at it.

[Grosz] We class the existence of this party from the congress. The socialist party is in a schizophrenic situation. It regards itself as a legal heir, but only concerning the property and the funds, not the policy. We accept this legacy, and we do not demand the funds. Besides, it is useless to fight for the funds. This party has been broken into pieces, including its basis of young people. Therefore, we elected young people to lead the party. They might be able to find the road toward the future generations.

[Szendrei] This seems to be a difficult task, all the more so because the overwhelming majority of the old MSZMP members joined the party exclusively from existential considerations. As opposed to this, being a Communist today no longer has special prospects.

[Grosz] I do no think so. Nor do I think that the members joined the party exclusively in order to have a better life.

[Szendrei] You are also aware of the fact that membership in the party was one of the elements and conditions of advancement and acquiring a position in this country.

[Grosz] I never gave preferences to anyone for being a party member. I remember that I only proposed Tibor Csibere, a nonparty member, for the position of education minister.

[Szendrei] The parties competing today are using several historical figures on their banners. Whom would the MSZMP use and whom would you look upon?

[Grosz] I do not think that we should seek a figure to give moral justification to our deeds and to identify our policy. However, Janos Kadar was obviously the outstanding personality of the MSZMP in the past 30 years. I will never cast him off. It is also well known that I did not agree with his weaknesses, and I also told him this while he was alive, much earlier than those who are now shouting against him. If I recall the strategic mistakes, I must say that, at the end of Janos Kadar's leadership, the 30-year political line became rigid and stressed permanency rather than renewal. In the meantime, most people were not able to participate in shaping our policy because they were not included in this activity, or they were squeezed out from this activity.

Janos Kadar and Imre Nagy

[Szendrei] Is it true that, in the last Central Committee session in which he participated, Janos Kadar asked to be tried by a court and convicted?

[Grosz] Yes, that is true. Besides, we have the protocol and the tape recording of that meeting.

[Szendrei] Can they be published?

[Grosz] I do not know how the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Party [MSZP] will deal with this material that they also inherited. According to the old rule, such documents were taken to the party archives.

[Szendrei] How did Janos Kadar react to Imre Nagy's funeral?

[Grosz] He was at home during the television broadcast. As far as I know, he did not switch the television set on. Thus, I know nothing about his first reactions on that day. However, we met two days later and we also talked about the funeral. His position concerning Imre Nagy remained unchanged. He did not think highly of Imre Nagy as a politician and as a man. At the same time, he attributed Imre Nagy's execution to the pressure of international conditions and circumstances prevailing at the time.

[Szendrei] As a party general secretary, why did you allow the funeral of a reform Communist and of his followers to be organized by the opposition?

[Grosz] First of all, I never regarded Imre Nagy as a reform Communist. As I also said at the Central Committee meeting, I considered his execution to be a crime. This was a staged trial. To this very day, I think that Imre Nagy was encouraged by the Soviet Union to oppose

Rakosi in 1953. I also said that his rehabilitation was justified both politically and morally.

[Szendrei] You did not say the same thing in America.

[Grosz] You journalists quoted my speeches in America very badly. I read the verdict for the first time before leaving for the United States, but I still did not know about the documents. I represented a very flexible position in my lectures there. I told my audience that if we draw new conclusions, we will decide accordingly. Why did the opposition organize the funeral? Because they wanted to make political capital out of Imre Nagy. The MSZMP has never had the interest to put Imre Nagy on a false banner of the party movement.

[Szendrei] We have now come back to the MSZMP. What is your opinion about the fact that none of the parties today wants to form a coalition with you?

[Grosz] Why would they want to do that? This would not be logical. Every party is basing its strategy on denying the past.

[Szendrei] How is the MSZMP preparing to act in the opposition?

[Grosz] You should ask somebody else this question. Although I am a member of the Central Committee, I do not participate in the activity of the narrow leadership.

[Szendrei] For me this shows that the style has not changed. Can the party members not know about the strategy? Given your past experience, it is difficult to imagine that the leaders would not listen to you.

[Grosz] I clearly express my opinion in every issue on which the current leadership asks my position. I am ready to fight only as long as the leadership demands this, because I am aware of the fact that, irrespective of my intentions, I can also be a burden for this party.

[Szendrei] To the last minute, you opposed the development of a multiparty system. Would we have less conflict in the transitional period under the conditions of a single-party system?

[Grosz] I took a stand in favor of a single-party system at the party conference held in May 1988. However, I already opted for pluralism in February 1989. You should therefore decide when was that last minute you are talking about. During the 10 months that have passed since then, I have learned about things I had only suspected before....

Adventurists Might Still Come

[Szendrei] The time came when you became general secretary. The public feared that Karoly Grosz did not shift the center of decision-making process into the government, the way you urged this while functioning as a prime minister, but you grabbed all the power. The threat of a dictatorship emerged.

[Grosz] This is one of the usual naive opinions. The attic is full of such opinions. It is not even worth dealing with them. I did not want to become a general secretary. I considered it an honorable responsibility to give an account of my government program to the parliament in three-four years. However, the party leadership decided differently.

[Szendrei] Answering not to the parliament but to yourself, how do you assess your activity as a premier and party general secretary?

[Grosz] I consider the balance of this activity to be positive. I am proud of being able to participate in starting the renewal, something that has been going on without bloodshed so far.

[Szendrei] You stressed the words "so far." Do you think that there can be still bloodshed?

[Grosz] Yes.

[Szendrei] Do you think that this country would use weapons after the television broadcast of the Romanian revolution?

[Grosz] I do not think that the country would do that.... However, I can imagine certain forces and groupings being able to do this. I stress: This would not be coming from the will of the professional party leaders. I do not think that any party would encourage the people for whom nothing is dear to engage in such adventurism.

[Szendrei] From all that we have been talking about, do you think that we can avoid a collapse?

[Grosz] There is very little chance of avoiding a collapse. The economy is in an alarming state. I do not see enough resources in the political development to counterbalance this situation. However, I do not say that the situation is hopeless. A calm and systematic government and legislature that enjoy international support from everywhere could lead the country out of the deep crisis. If not, everything will become uncontrollable in a few years.

[Szendrei] Today, you cannot be called a popular politician. Is it possible that you would be faced with angry masses not only in Leninvaros?

[Grosz] I have never sought popularity. After the provocation in Leninvaros, more than 1,100 nominating slips were collected for me, and I expressed my appreciation for these slips, but I do not accept the nomination. Why should I accept this if I cannot contribute to the political development? This is what bothers me, and not the lack of popularity.

Medgyessy on Establishment of Market Economy

PM0603092890 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 2 Mar 90 p 5

[Report on interview with Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy by Bitte Hammargren; place and date not given: "The Way Is Clear for Foreign Capital"]

[Text] Privatization, an end to state subsidies, and more or less unrestricted foreign investment are the slogans for Hungary when Hungarian Deputy Prime Minister Peter Medgyessy sketches the possibilities for rapid developments.

Medgyessy, who today opens a Hungarian Week at the Alvsjo Exhibition Center outside Stockholm, also hopes that Swedish industry and commerce will be "more aggressive" in competition with West German, U.S., and Japanese capital in the Hungarian market.

With regard to what Hungary can learn from Sweden, Medgyessy made no mention of any Swedish model. What Medgyessy wants, above all, is capital and experts on the market economy.

Medgyessy, who is without party affiliation in the socialist government, seems much more unreserved in his view of the blessings of capitalism than many members of the Swedish Government. However, the problems connected with Hungary's rapid transition to a market economy are, as formulated by Medgyessy, the risk of growing unemployment and social divisions.

"There are groups in society that will be worse off. But without a strong economy we cannot have a strong social policy."

When Hungary goes to the polls on 25 March—the first free elections since 1945—there are, by and large, no differences in the views taken of the need for privatization between the parties that dominate the picture—the governing socialist party and the leading opposition parties, Democratic Forum and the Free Democrats.

"We do not have a major debate on privatization. There are some minor differences between the parties about the direction. It is chiefly people in the Democratic Forum who are afraid that the state will sell off its property too cheaply; they have more nationalistic tendencies."

Medgyessy does not think that there is any need at present to set a ceiling on how much foreign investors may buy.

"I think that we have adequate rules," said the deputy prime minister, who has a past as finance minister under the former communist regime.

"Personally, I am against selling off our land and our natural resources, but otherwise I see no need for limits."

The privatization of health care has already begun, and there is a moratorium in the field of telecommunications until the election—but after the election this field could also be opened up to purchasers, Medgyessy predicted.

Last year's influx of foreign capital totaled $500-600 million. Over the next three or four years, Hungary will need three times that amount to succeed with its modernization, the deputy prime minister calculates. In addition, the Hungarians are also hoping for foreign loans and credits—the agreement with the IMF that they are hoping will be ready in the next week is a milestone.

The opinion polls before the election indicate that the next cabinet in Budapest will be a coalition government. The two nonsocialist parties, the Democratic Forum and the Free Democrats, are leading the polls with 24 and 18 percent, respectively, while the newly formed Socialist Party, which came into existence after the Communist Party dissolved itself, has barely 10 percent.

After an election in which no party is expected to come anywhere near an absolute majority, there is a risk that there will be an Italian parliamentary situation—or even a Swedish one. Medgyessy is coolly expecting the Socialist Party to end up in opposition and to be the largest opposition party. The two leading nonsocialist parties have ruled out a coalition with the Socialist Party. Even if this party is as committed to the market as any social democratic party in the West, there is distrust of the former communists.

Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn declared about a week ago that Hungary could possibly join NATO. This is a view of which Medgyessy is critical.

"The foreign minister's statement has given rise to misunderstandings. If Hungary dissociates itself from the Warsaw Pact this does not necessarily mean joining NATO," he explained, predicting instead future Hungarian neutrality.

He was unwilling to go into greater detail about the current negotiations with the Soviet Union for a Soviet troop withdrawal. It had been said that a final date for the Soviet retreat would be fixed by 10 March, but yesterday there were reports from Budapest of "significant differences" in the views of the two countries. As a result it is unclear whether an agreement can be signed as early as was planned.

Medgyessy does not think that it is likely that Hungary will apply to join the EEC in the next few years, even though he believes in a "greater Europe."

"There is not enough willingness on the part of the EEC and our competitiveness is not great enough yet to be able to cope with EEC membership."

He believes, rather, that Hungary could seek to reach an agreement with EFTA [European Free Trade Association] and perhaps free-trade agreements with individual EFTA countries, including Sweden.

Horn Discusses Soviet Troop Withdrawal

LD0703111690 Budapest MTI in English 0705 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 7 (MTI)—The Hungarian Government in office considers the pullout of Soviet troops a fundamental national interest rather than a matter of prestige, Foreign Minister Gyula Horn, topping the Somogy County list of the Hungarian Socialist Party, told an election rally in Siofok on Tuesday. In reply to questions, Mr Horn added that he would like to sign the related agreement in Moscow on March 10 so that the presumably long process of pullout should start as soon as possible.

Since the transportation of Soviet troops and their armament and military equipment will require over 2,000 trains, the demand raised in the 12-party meeting that the last Soviet soldier should leave Hungary in three months' time is a physical nonsense, Mr Horn said. The foreign minister recalled that the similar agreement concluded by the Czechoslovak Government set a deadline of June 1991, although much less Soviet military equipment was piled up in that country. It would only postpone the deadline if the sides failed to agree now and the agreement be concluded by the next government, after the elections, Mr Horn said.

Nyers Receives Former Romanian Deputy Premier

LD0603225790 Budapest MTI in English 1806 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Rezso Nyers, president of the Hungarian Socialist Party, on Tuesday met Janos Fazekas, retired deputy prime minister of Romania.

The sides exchanged views on the development of the situation of Hungarians in Romania in the period after the democratic turn. According to Mr Fazekas, the Hungarian minority needs a strong, democratic Hungary, which is inconceivable without a strong left wing. It is particularly important to stress this at a time when the left wing is increasingly losing ground in Romania, and certain right-wing circles are criticizing the democratic organization of the national minorities with the old arguments of chauvinist propaganda, he said.

Deputy Minister Meets Romanian Counterpart

LD0703035290 Budapest MTI in English 2028 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest March 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian and the Romanian deputy ministers of the interior met on Tuesday at the Artand border station in Hajdu-Bihar County, Hungary. This was the first such high-level contact between the two Ministries of the Interior for quite some years, although both countries are members of Interpol.

According to the communique issued on the talks, Brigadier Generals Andras Turos of Hungary and Corneliu Diamandescu of Romania discussed the establishment and fostering of relations, and the future of the Romanian refugees staying in Hungary.

The sides stressed the importance of placing cooperation between the two ministries on new bases, particularly in the areas of criminal investigation, law and order, traffic regulations and border traffic.

Mr Turos informed MTI after the talks the themes were justified by the fact that Romania has become an open country, and both countries are transit routes for drug deliveries.

According to the sides, meetings between the Interior representatives of the two countries should be made regular in the future, both on a national and local level.

It became clear at the talks that Romania assents to the settlement of refugees staying in Hungary. It will also provide assistance to the 1,200 persons who wish to return to Romania. Romania also assents to the some 4,000 Romanians staying in Hungary to leave to a third country.

Mr Turos said the discussions also included the Securitate. The Romanian side unanimously condemned the organization, and termed it a terrorist organization. However, the Romanian side is unaware of whether former Securitate members are currently in Hungary or not. Brigadier General Diamandescu promised to forward the Hungarian request for the Romanian side to assist uncovering Securitate members in Hungary to the Romanian minister of the interior.

CSSR Suspends Exchange of Forints

LD0603145790 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] With reference to central directives, neither the banks nor currency exchange agencies accept forints from Hungarian tourists in Czechoslovakia. Checks for korunas are, however, exchangeable.

According to the authorities at the Trade Ministry, the unexpected decision is probably motivated by the intention to apply pressure on Hungarian authorities by suspending the exchange of forints. Prague has given notice of the suspension of the coordinated and exchange-rates' system within CEMA and proposes that in the future one koruna should cost five forints, instead of 2.2 forints.

Council of Europe Officials Visit Budapest

LD0503231590 Budapest MTI in English 1622 GMT 5 MAR 90

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—Joao de Deus Pinheiro, current president of the Council of Europe's Ministerial Committee, Portuguese foreign minister, and Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Council of Europe, arrived in Budapest on Monday, at the invitation of Hungarian Foreign Minister Gyula Horn. On arrival, Madame Lalumiere told MTI that the fact that she is already paying her second visit to Hungary this year, also demonstrates the interest of the Council of Europe for Hungary and its intention to develop relations.

The current extended European tour includes Warsaw, Bucharest, Sofia, Belgrade, Budapest, Prague and Berlin.

The West is open and sympathetic to changes taking place in Hungary, Madame Lalumiere said.

Visitors Focus on Reform

LD0503231690 Budapest MTI in English 2037 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 5 (MTI)—The political changes taking place in Eastern Europe and the progress of the reform processes will be in focus during the extensive tour of Europe—including Warsaw, Moscow, Bucharest, Sofia, Budapest, Prague and East Berlin—by Joao de Deus Pinheiro, current president of the Council of Europe, Portuguese foreign minister and Catherine Lalumiere, general secretary of the Strasbourg-based organisation. This was reported by Mr Pinheiro who was speaking in the Hungarian parliament building on Monday.

The visit comes in preparation of the foreign ministerial meeting of the 23 countries rallied by the council, scheduled to be held on March 23, 24, when views will be exchanged on the future role of the Council of Europe, and the new situation of Europe. The Lisbon meeting is due to be attended by the East European states wishing to be integrated in the political cooperation of Europe, i.e. the activity of the council, which also includes Hungary.

It was recalled by the visitors that Hungary was the first East European country to request in November, 1989, to be granted full membership in the Council following its status of special invitee.

It was emphasized by both Mr Pinheiro and M. Lalumiere that the political changes taking place in Hungary are significant not only for the Central and East European region, but for the whole of Europe.

It is their conviction that the process of democratization in Hungary is irreversible, and that whatever government emerges after the March 25 elections, it must continue to progress on the road leading to democracy, the respect of human rights and a market economy.

Among the integration organisations of European states (the Council of Europe, the European Economic Community and NATO) the countries of Eastern Europe may first join the ranks of the organisation for political cooperation—that of the Council of Europe, it was reported by Madame Lalumiere. In all likelihood, Hungary is to be granted full membership in the Council before the end of the year. There are however more difficult tasks to be overcome in the sphere of economy and military cooperation. The Council of Europe is ready to receive East European states, although it is well aware that this also means opening the doors to particular East European problems as well, M. Lalumiere said.

Responding to questions, it was reported by the visitors that—at the invitation of the Hungarian Government—a ten-strong group of observers will be dispatched by the Council's parliamentary General Assembly, to the March elections in Hungary. Their task will be strictly that of observervering and not supervising, it was emphasized.

Mr Pinheiro and M. Lalumiere arrived in Budapest on Monday afternoon. Discussions with their Hungarian host, Gyula Horn, foreign minister, were commenced soon after, which was followed by talks with leaders of the Hungarian parliament, and representatives of party factions.

The press conference was followed by a meeting with leaders of opposition parties.

The visitors are scheduled to meet with Prime Minister Nemeth on Tuesday morning, before embarking on the next leg of their tour in Prague.

Working Visit Ends

LD0603124390 Budapest MTI in English 1124 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Joao de Deus Pinheiro, acting president of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe and Portuguese Foreign Minister, and Catherine Lalumiere, secretary-general of the Council of Europe, met Hungarian Prime Minister Miklos Nemeth over a working breakfast on Tuesday [6 March].

Having concluded their official visit to Hungary, Senhor de Deus Pinheiro and Mme Lalumiere left for Prague on Tuesday morning.

Karpati Visits Netherlands Counterpart

LD0503232690 Budapest MTI in English 2129 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] The Hague, March 5 (MTI)—Ferenc Karpati, Hungarian minister of defence, arrived in The Hague on Monday, for an official visit.

Following the reception ceremony, Mr Karpati was driven to the Dutch Ministry of Defence where he conferred with his Dutch counterpart, Relus Ter Beek.

Mr Beek spoke of the importance he attaches to the visit by Mr Karpati, as he is the first defence minister to visit Holland from a member state of the Warsaw Treaty. Mr Beek said that the visit can be interpreted not just as a symbolic but a practical recognition of the reform processes taking place in Hungary, being of a flagship character in the East European region. An integral part of these processes is the armed forces reform launched in the Hungarian Army.

The Dutch minister of defence also spoke in appreciation of the active role of Hungarian foreign policy and military diplomacy in strenghtening European security.

Mr Beek expounded his view that smaller European countries, including Holland and Hungary, should play an appropriate role in forming the Europe of the future, and in elaborating a unified security system. He expressed his appreciation for Hungary's active part in the Vienna talks on armed forces reduction, which is also in line with Dutch interests.

Mr Beek spoke in high terms about Hungary's role in the "Open Skies" initiative, adding that political means should be considered foremost within the two military blocks, and national sovereignity and self determination should be raised to the highest possible level.

Hungary's primary interest lies in the improvement of relations between the two military blocks, Mr Karpati said. It is the country's aim to see that armies of member states of the alliances acquire autnomous, national sovereign character, besides the predomiance of the political role.

Hungary, as a member state of the Warsaw Treaty, is endeavouring to diffuse tensions between the two European military blocs. To attain this, we utilise bilateral diplomatic and military ties, which could lead to the creation of a unified European defence system, Mr Karpati said.

Delegation Continues Visit

LD0603230890 Budapest MTI in English
1915 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] The Hague, March 6 (MTI)—The Hungarian military delegation led by Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati visited the Dutch Navy on Tuesday [6 March].

This was the first time that a Warsaw Treaty minister of defence was able to enter the Den Helder Naval Base, situated some 150 kilometres from the Dutch capital. Commander Van Veenendaal, deputy chief of staff of the Royal Dutch Navy, informed Mr Karpati and Laszlo Borsics, chief of staff, and the other members of the delegation on the structure and activity of the Navy.

In the following, the Hungarian minister of defence was received on board the flagship De Ruyter. An impromptu press conference was held on the captain's bridge. Journalists asked the minister about his impressions of the base, which so far had been a prohibited area not merely for soldiers from the Warsaw Treaty countries, but for civilians as well. Mr Karpati said he received a very thorough and detailed briefing from his partners. This sincerity expresses all, he said, indicating how times have changed, as well as the friendly cooperation that has come about not only between the countries and peoples, but also between the armed forces of states that belong to different military alliances.

On Tuesday afternoon, the Hungarian minister of defence attended the session of the Defence Committee of the Dutch second chamber.

On the Tuesday evening. Dutch Minister of Defence Ter Beek hosted a dinner on board a sight-seeing boat, in honour of Hungarian Minister of Defence Ferenc Karpati, and the military delegation accompanying him.

Diplomatic Relations With Bahrain Established

LD0303193190 Budapest MTI in English
0743 GMT 3 Mar 90

[Text] Bahrain, March 3 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, Hungarian secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry who is currently on an official visit to Bahrain, on Saturday met Shaykh 'Isa Ibn-Salmon al Khalifah, the ruler of Bahrain. Present at the event was Shaykh Khalifa Ibn-Salman Al-Khalifah, prime minister, and Shaykh Muhammad Ibn-Mubarak Al-Khalifah, foreign minister.

In the following, at talks with the Foreign Minister, the sides reviewed international issues of mutual interest, and possibilities to develop bilateral relations. The sides agreed that the Republic of Hungary and the State of Bahrain are to establish diplomatic relations on an ambassadorial level, with effect from March 3.

Further on Bahrain

LD0503202290 Budapest MTI in English
1346 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—On March 3, Hungary established diplomatic relations with Bahrain.

Commenting on the news, the Hungarian Ministry of Trade disclosed that last year, Hungary exported 500,000 U.S. dollars' worth of goods—mainly tungsram light-bulbs—to Bahrain, about the same value as in 1988.

Hungarian [as received] imported nothing whatsoever from Bahrain.

Whilst not being a major outlet for Hungary, Bahrain is of particular importance as a banking centre and member of the Gulf Cooperation Council.

Other members of the GCC include Kuwait, Saudi Arabia, Oman, Qatar, and the United Arab Emirates.

Hungarian exports to the six countries together were worth 130 million USD last year, 40 per cent more than in 1988.

Imports have not exceeded 1.5 million USD for years now.

Somogyi Discusses Visit

LD0703034190 Budapest MTI in English
2124 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 6 (MTI)—Ferenc Somogyi, Hungarian secretary of state at the Foreign Ministry, returned to Budapest on Tuesday from his official visits to the United Arab Emirates, Bahrain, Qatar and Jordan.

Discussing the experiences of his visits, Mr Somogyi informed MTI that Hungary has, for some time, wished to develop its diplomatic, trade and economic relations with the countries of the Persian Gulf, on reciprocally advantageous bases. A new element of establishing relations is that contacts of a political nature between Hungary and the Arab world are increasingly being replaced by the reciprocal development of economic and trade relations.

The countries along the Gulf are of the opinion that further significant opportunities exist to develop economic and trade relations. It was set forth at the talks that these countries are interested in investing a considerable part of their financial means in the central-eastern European region, which they would now hold to be an economically favourable area.

Talks were also held about the Middle East settlement. There was agreement in that the most promising means of the lasting, just and comprehensive settlement of the issue would be to summon an international conference. At the same time, the negotiating partners shared the Hungarian opinion that all other possibilities that promote this process should also be utilized.

Mr Somogyi said the series of meetings provided a good opportunity for the Hungarian side to reconfirm that the renewal of diplomatic relations with Israel does not mean a change in the Hungarian position with respect to the Middle East issue and the settlement of the Palestinian problem. According to the Hungarian approach the fact that Hungary is now able to directly set forth its views to Israel can promote the contribution of Hungary to settling the problems of the region.

Nemeth Meets Australians, West Germans

LD0203211290 Budapest MTI in English
1808 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 2 (MTI)—Miklos Nemeth, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, on Friday met Sir Peter Abeles, president-general director of the TNT [expansion unknown] Worldwide, in the parliament building, Budapest.

The prime minister and the prominent Australian businessman discussed possibilities to develop bilateral economic relations.

Also on Friday, Prime Minister Nemeth met in his office Dr Jurgen Warnke, minister of economic cooperation of the Federal Republic of Germany, and Gerold Tandler, Bavarian minister of state for finance. Discussions focussed on current issues of economic cooperation.

The FRG politicians are in Hungary to attend the opening of the Hans Seidel Foundation's Budapest office.

Dr Warnke forwarded the personal message of Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Prime Minister Nemeth.

Nemeth Meets TNT Chairman

LD0503202790 Budapest MTI in English
1315 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Budapest, March 5, 1990 (MTI-ECONEWS)—The Hungarian prime minister Miklos Nemeth met the visiting chairman of TNT worldwide services, Sir Peter Abeles, over the weekend, and discussed with him the prospects for developing economic contacts between Hungary and Australia.

At the end of 1988, TNT and the Hungarian airline Malev set up a joint venture called TNT Malev Express Cargo, Ltd., with a capital of 2 million usd.

TNT and Malev hold equal, 40-per-cent stakes in the JV [joint venture], and the Hungarian Credit bank, Masped Forwarding Company, Technoimpex and Babolna agricultural complex, 5 per cent each.

The talks also covered possibilities of expanding the air transport cooperation between the two companies.

A Malev official told MTI-ECONEWS that they would like to develop the JV into a regional centre for Eastern Europe, and extend TNT-Malev services to Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria this year: They were extended to the Soviet Union last year.

Officials, Commentaries React To W. Border Issue

Skubiszewski on Security Concerns

*TA0503125290 Tel Aviv DAVAR in Hebrew
5 Mar 90 p 7*

[Report on "exclusive" interview with Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski by correspondent Gid'on Kouts in Warsaw; date not given]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted] Poland demands a peace pact now. It is not prepared to trust the Germans. In an exclusive interview with DAVAR, Skubiszewski emphasized—as did Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki—the importance of addressing these remarks to an Israeli audience and noted the significance of Israeli support, because of its moral stand on the subject. This week Arens spoke clearly in support of the Oder-Neisse border and of anchoring it in an international agreement. But, Arens noted, the question of German reunification has not yet been discussed by the Israeli Government.

On this issue, Minister Skubiszewski said, there has always been a great affinity of views between the two countries which persists to this day. Israel is one of the countries that recognized the new border between Poland and Germany set after World War II. Israel will surely agree to German reunification because everybody should agree to it. We do not deny the right of the German people to self-determination. If they want one country, that is their privilege. But the situation in Europe and throughout the world is such that other considerations must be taken into account, such as:

Guarantees for the safety of its neighbors and some kind of agreement on a comprehensive strategy for the troops stationed in the region. If East Germany quits the Warsaw Pact, this will be a clear loss to the pact and to the Soviet Union in particular, which has a special interest in this part of Europe; therefore, a solution must be found.

We expect Israel to support our position that this question should be solved by a final and absolute reconfirmation of the border. We expect it to support our demand for a Polish-German agreement with the validity and significance of a peace pact, so that no use can be made of the argument that a peace solution must be found first and that only then will the final border be determined.

Poland trusts Israel to state in its international contacts that the reunification of Germany calls for certain security assurances, including territorial security—in other words, that Germany's borders today should remain its borders in the future. I think both our countries share an interest that the two Germanys should be integrated in Europe's security system so that they are not isolated and become a new superpower with an uncertain future.

[Kouts] What is Poland's full official position on the issue?

[Skubiszewski] We believe that a new system of collective security should be set up in Europe, because the enormous change to be generated by German reunification should be provided with a political framework of its own. We believe there is room to include Poland in the deliberations between the two Germanys and the four occupying superpowers, especially on those issues pertaining to our country. Those issues should not be discussed or decided without our participation.

Poland is not demanding a status identical to that of one of the Germanys or the superpowers, but it should be included in some of the discussions. We should put an end to the uncertainty and vagueness about the border which is constantly spread by West German politicians and official bodies—the courts, administrative offices, the government—as if the question of the border has not yet been resolved.

Reunification must start with an unequivocal solution of the border question. This should be done in the context of a peace agreement. West Germany has always stressed that only a peace pact could settle this problem. Now Germany says that the signing of a peace pact should be postponed. Poland's response to this is: If so, let us sign with the two Germanys a pact only concerning the borders, but one with the effect of a peace agreement or peace pact, so that the Germans will stop saying that this is only a temporary thing which should be postponed until there is a peace pact, which nobody knows who will sign and when.

[Kouts] Your remarks show that, at least at this point, you do not trust the Germans.

[Skubiszewski] Differing views are heard in Germany, and one wonders what its actual policy is and which view counts. The Germans talk about the reunification of the two Germanys, including Berlin. On the face of it, they would seem to mean reunification along the current borders, but who is to assure us that after reunification, the new country will not tell us: True, we reunified along these borders, but the question of the borders is still open to negotiations before a peace pact is signed. This uncertainty must be clarified.

Mazowiecki: Border, European Stability Linked

*AU0503145990 Hamburg DIE WELT in German
5 Mar 90 p 7*

[Interview with Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki by Hanspeter Oschwald; place and date not given]

[Text] [Oschwald] You expect the FRG to recognize Poland's western border. Why are you not satisfied with a de facto recognition, especially since the border still divides entire villages, as the Berlin Wall did before? Should the course of the border be redefined as a peace border, that is, before the final determination of this border?

[Mazowiecki] We will not enter into a discussion on the Polish border. I have stressed repeatedly that the stability of the borders in the whole of Europe and not only in our country is a prerequisite for European stability, which nobody who thinks clearly wants to endanger. As regards the divided villages, I hope that we will soon succeed in reestablishing local border traffic, that is, the inhabitants' freedom of movement; and later—but also in the near future—we will introduce far-reaching and large-scale improvements in passenger traffic.

[Oschwald] The fixing of the borders in the West is tantamount to blocking all borders. Does this mean that Poland refrains from negotiations on its Eastern border?

[Mazowiecki] I say it once again: None of our borders are a topic for discussion.

[Oschwald] Is Poland afraid of a united Germany, although it cannot be compared to its predecessors?

[Mazowiecki] Poland is not afraid of a united Germany if, as I hope, it is established within the framework of a process that does not disturb the European balance and creates a new European security system; that is, a process that will be embedded in the European integration process. However, Poland would be afraid of a Germany that is only insufficiently connected with Poland, and also of a Germany that does not take a completely clear line on the security of its neighbors. Therefore, we also want Poland to be present during part of the so-called conference of six that deals with Poland's problems and the security of its borders. There cannot be any doubt that we have the right to be present—too much injustice developed in Europe from the fact that vital interests were dealt with over the heads of the affected countries.

Therefore, we also want the inviolability of the Polish border to be confirmed by a treaty initialed by the two German states and later ratified by a united Germany.

[Oschwald] Is this the reason for Poland's efforts to establish a confederation with Czechoslovakia?

[Mazowiecki] Confederation—this is exaggerated. Poland is striving for an intensification of its real ties with Czechoslovakia—the economic, cultural, and political ones, that is, within the framework of European integration.

[Oschwald] To what extent does Poland plan to actually integrate itself in the West? Does Mitterrand's proposal of a confederation, a political union, appeal to you, or would you prefer a possible economic union?

[Mazowiecki] If possible, we want far-reaching pan-European integration. How far-reaching it can be is hard to assess at the moment. History has been accelerated, but it is often impossible to grasp the various factors concretely: They are psychological and historical. Regarding specific questions, first of all we have declared our entry into the Council of Europe, and we are striving for the status of an associated EC state. We will strive for full EC membership in the future.

[Oschwald] What economic, political, and social changes have taken place in Poland since you came into power?

[Mazowiecki] Several long articles would be necessary to answer this question. In short: We are economically in the stage of a determined stabilization connected with the return to a market economy. In the sphere of politics we have regained sovereignty and are trying to secure an appropriately strong international position for Poland. In the social sectors we support the revival of inter-human self-help and local self-administration.

[Oschwald] Really free elections were rather restricted in Poland. Now, after the dissolution of the Communist Party, should a new electoral law not be adopted and new elections be held as soon as possible?

[Mazowiecki] In early May municipal elections will be held and we are concentrating all our attention on them. They are of decisive importance for the further development and strengthening of democracy in Poland, as well as for the development of a sense of responsibility for the fate of our country—that is, for all the things that we paraphrase by the concept of internal sovereignty. As regards parliamentary elections, the political landscape in Poland is expected to fundamentally change before 1993; however, a specific date can hardly be given. But it would not be good if an entire country, in which so many things remain to be done in all areas of life, were to exclusively concentrate for months on the problem of elections.

[Oschwald] How does your government work in view of the fact that the apparatus is largely the same, and how strong is the resistance of this apparatus?

[Mazowiecki] At present, I would rather talk of bad habits than of resistance by the old apparatus. We are still dealing here with bureaucratic soullessness, indifference, cumbersomeness, and laziness in making decisions at a lower level. The resistance may be more perceptible in the country and also at the administrative levels below the government level, where the old relations between influential people continue to exist, and the former nomenclatura tries to preserve certain privileges. In this respect, the latest mayors' elections in Krakow and Warsaw were very instructive.

[Oschwald] What role does the Catholic Church play in Poland today and will this role change in the near future? Should the church withdraw from politics after—in a certain sense—it has fulfilled its task?

[Mazowiecki] The church in Poland exercised numerous so-called deputy functions which are no longer necessary today. However, a wide range of possible church activities in the social sector, which have been very limited so far (hospitals, day-nurseries, schools), is beginning to show. Moreover, it is important that the church continues to exist as a guide and important source of moral authority in this fast-moving world. And this is also politically important.

[Oschwald] Poland was a trailblazer in the democratization process in Eastern Europe. Do you not think that your country has now fallen behind, while Hungary, for example, has gone much further? Even the GDR has overtaken Poland in this process.

[Mazowiecki] I do not think that this is true—but, first of all, we are not running a race with anyone toward democracy. We want the change to take place in stability and to be deeply and firmly rooted in institutions and the human consciousness. So far, we have achieved this.

Kohl's Position 'Ambiguous'

LD0503153490 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1105 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Krzysztof Wojna commentary]

[Text] It has been known, and not just very recently, that the differences of opinion between Warsaw and Bonn have been, above all, the outcome of Chancellor Kohl's ambiguous attitude. Nobody assumes that a united Germany will once more look for living space in the east. The degree of integration of the FRG with the EEC has resulted in the fact that the West has today greater control than ever over what happens on the Rhine

The fact that German society is getting older and the demographic processes do not particularly inspire dreams about Lebensraum either. However, Chancellor Kohl has undoubtedly achieved one thing: he has awakened Europe's suspicions.

When Premier Mazowiecki, during his London visit, proposed that Poland be included among the participants in the conference it was not really understood in many capitals why the Poles were so concerned about this. The Oder-Neisse border seemed such a lasting element of postwar Europe that opening a discussion on its inviolability did not have any rational justification.

Today West Europe is already thinking in a different way. For it has turned out that the chancellor is avoiding the regulation of this issue by a treaty that, when combined with the constitutional entry on Germany within the borders of 1937, must raise the concern of everyone, not just the Poles.

In fact, the issue is not even the border itself, as the border could not be changed without a third world war, and after such a war the issue of borders would become totally pointless.

The issue is that one must not allow the unification of Germany, when the main Polish-German problem would be left not fully resolved. It has already happened once in the past that this issue was not seen to. It happened in Versailles. The result proved tragic to us all.

Chancellor Kohl's attitude reminds Europe of that. It is not just a coincidence that Poland's highest representatives are leaving for talks in Paris this week at the invitation of President Mitterrand.

Jaruzelski Warns Against Prolonged Debate

LD0603110990 Hamburg DPA in German 1020 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Hamburg (DPA)—Poland's State President Wojciech Jaruzelski has warned the Federal Government, and especially Federal Chancellor Helmut Kohl, against continuing the debate about the Polish western border. In an interview with the daily DIE WELT [7 March Edition], he said that if the discussion in the FRG were to be long and drawn out, then "this creates an atmosphere which will overshadow everything and complicate those matters which could be positive for our relations." A settlement of this issue satisfactory for Poland he said was a "test case for reconciliation."

Concerning Kohl's attitude toward the recognition of the Oder-Neisse border, Jaruzelski said: "That is an issue that continues to be open." He regretted "this certain amount of evasion, the ambiguities on this issue." He could quite see that there existed various domestic reasons that had tempted the chancellor to adopt that attitude. "However, I can also see that there are many other politicians who adopt a clear position on that issue," Jaruzelski said. He was thinking above all of the SPD [Social Democratic Party] as well as Federal Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher (FDP) [Free Democratic Party]. "It would please us if the chancellor were also to arrive at that position."

Jaruzelski affirmed Poland would uncompromisingly stick to its demand for participating in the conference of the victorious powers and the two German states about German unity. He will conduct talks abroad before the end of this month which will aim at "confirming the guarantees for our security by the great powers."

The state president spoke out against the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland. This is "a question which must be seen in the context of the changes in Europe. It will depend very much on whether a united Germany remains a member of NATO or whether it will become neutral, and what the deployment of the Soviet army on GDR territory is going to be like. What armies, if any, are stationed where."

Commentary on Kohl's 'About-Face'

AU0603143290 Warsaw GAZETA WYBORCZA in Polish 2 Mar 90 p 1

[Janusz Reiter commentary]

[Text] There are other terms for it in diplomatic language, but in this case a spade should be called a spade: Chancellor Kohl is pursuing an insincere, ambiguous game with Poland. What happened on Wednesday night only serves to confirm this impression. The chancellor has performed similar about-face before by making contradictory statements, dodging issues, and avoiding clear-cut statements. There are numerous examples of this kind of behavior in the chronicle of preparations for his November visit to Poland. That is why it did not become the historic turning point that Bonn was apparently hoping for. In order to achieve a breakthrough, one has to be bold enough to take a risk. Konrad Adenauer fought for a reconciliation with France. Helmut Kohl wanted to achieve a reconciliation with Poland without offending those who have a hostile attitude toward Poland.

A similar situation exists today. The Germans can achieve what would have appeared unrealistic to even the greatest optimist just a year ago: a united nation. There is no doubt that this marks a watershed in the history of the German nation. It is difficult to perceive anything of historic import in what the FRG chancellor has to say to the Poles at such a time. All that one can perceive are tactics, plain tactics.

This is not because he has been forced to bow to the pressure of public opinion. The majority of the Germans came to accept the reality of the Odra-Nysa [Oder-Neisse] border a long time ago, and they feel that there is no need to discuss this subject. It is a view that is shared by many people in the government. Hans-Dietrich Genscher uses language that enables the Poles and Germans to understand each other. The chancellor also uses this kind of language sometimes, but every so often he changes it for a language that worries many Poles. Even if this concern is deemed unwarranted, it should not be patently disregarded. Feelings also constitute a fact in relations between nations—the Germans should understand why.

If this Polish-German misunderstanding continues, it may have dire consequences for our future as neighbors. For 40 years it was possible to explain all instances of friction in relations between Warsaw and Berlin in terms of the East-West conflict and communist rule in Poland. Today, as the cold war draws to a close, this dispute between Poland and Germany begins to resemble national animosity. This would be a historical anachronism in a Europe that is in the process of uniting.

Solidarity Reportedly Should Split Into 2 Parties

AU0603165790 Warsaw TRYBUNA in Polish 2 Mar 90 p 1

["Pil"-signed report: "Committees: Citizens' Committees Instead of Party Ones"]

[Text] Democracy in Poland is threatened by, among other things, the old nomenklatura, populist movements, and a possible "Solidarity" political monopoly.

This was the view expressed by Senator Jaroslaw Kaczynski, the editor in chief of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, during a meeting at Warsaw Polytechnic. In his opinion, some voivodship citizens' committees were beginning to perform the function of the old Polish United Workers Party voivodship committees—local authorities do not make any decisions of importantance without holding consultations with them.

At a closed Citizens' Parliamentary Club meeting held on Wednesday [28 February], one senator (Kaczynski did not reveal his name) suggested establishing a "group of twelve"—a kind of politburo for an interim period—that would be the most important decisionmaking body.

Kaczynski is in favor of a change in the office of president and the bringing forward of parliamentary elections (they could be held in the fall).

The "Solidarity" political movement should not spawn one, but two major political parties: a party of the left and a center-right party. This would correspond to the divisions that exist within the movement. So, there would be two political forces whose roots are in "Solidarity" competing against each other in the next parliamentary elections.

Walesa Views Solidarity's Future Political Role

PM0603165990 Madrid DIARIO 16 in Spanish 8 Feb 90 p 18

[Fernando de Valenzuela and Jorge Ruiz dispatch: "Walesa Ready To Head Centrist Political Party in Poland"]

[Text] Warsaw—In the life of the peace-loving Lech Walesa, a new leap into danger is approaching, no less spectacular than those which took him from the Gdansk shipyards to leadership of the trade union movement, from illegality to the negotiating table, and from there to the most sensational election victory in Europe, so far this century.

The Solidarity leader is now preparing to launch himself fully into the political arena by heading the party which, in his opinion, Poland needs in order to emerge from the crisis, and he is even prepared to take over the presidency of the republic, if necessary. According to him, neither Right nor Left has been able to effect a real renewal of the political scene.

"My position is very difficult. There are many people who identify me with the Left, although I have nothing to do with it. Nor am I committed to the Right, because I am a man of the Center. I am also a practicing Catholic, and I will never give that up.

"I work equally well from the center with the right and the left, but I am not to blame for the fact that the center-left works much better than the center-right. This forces me to help the people of the center-left to push the cart called Poland. I have no intention to exclude anyone because of his origins or political ideas. Everybody who knows how to work has in me a champion and a supporter."

The crunch will come in April, at the Solidarity congress—the first lawful congress in nine years—at which, in Walesa's opinion, "matters should be set out very clearly: Those who wish to be politicians will have to switch to politics, and only those who wish to devote themselves to trade unionism will remain in the trade union, since they will no longer be able to play a dual role, as heretofore.

"I am thinking it over, because I still have hopes that something will happen. If the matter of political parties were clarified and if a good political pluralism emerged, I could quit this post, because 10 years in this post are more than enough."

Social Democrat Adam Michnik, one of Solidarity's most brilliant politicians, recently proposed the formation of a political party bearing the same name as the trade union. "Adam is right: If the communists had not confined themselves to changing the old party's color a little, and if, as I was hoping, a real split had occurred, we would not have found ourselves forced now to set up on our side something big enough to stand up to them."

Walesa is convinced that the unity maintained by almost all sections of the former Communist Party, now rechristened Social Democracy, will soon be broken. "Within three years, the situation will have changed," Walesa believes, "and we will be like other European countries—France, Sweden, the FRG." There will be many political parties, and we will have pluralism, and fight a great deal, but I believe that ultimately only three parties—and three trade unions—will be left wielding influence."

But the fact is that the only sociopolitical force that now remains vigorous in Poland is Solidarity. "It is true," Walesa remarks: "We are the only side at the roundtable that has remained intact. Today it is we who can say with whom we wish to talk and who can dictate terms.

"But we could also lose, as the communists lost. Our duty is to be with the people in order to try to resolve matters and to encourage the people to participate; not, of course, as used to be done by the Communist Party, which imposed its wishes and forced people to heed them with the help of the secret police."

Walesa's concern for foreign policy is increasingly marked, and some of his recent statements, such as his declaration in favor of a rapid withdrawal of Soviet troops from Poland, alarm his colleagues in the government. But the Solidarity leader believes that it is his duty to expound his views with complete freedom: "The USSR as an empire will disintegrate, and nothing and nobody will be able to prevent it. Although many republics may secede from the USSR, others will remain in it.

"Gorbachev is a symbol, a phenomenon of his era, like Solidarity and Walesa. Gorbachev says what the era expects of him. It is possible that others may try to curb him, but they will not succeed. What Gorbachev says is indisputable; pluralism is something that the computers recommend."

Solidarity Wants Limits Placed on Unemployment

LD0603230590 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1900 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Problems of unemployment have dominated today's deliberations of the KKW NSZZ Solidarity Presidium [National Executive Committee of the Independent Self-Governing Trade Union]. It was stated that unemployment cannot become a spontaneous phenomenon, and that during the negotiations with the government the union should establish a limit of unemployment in a given year. In April, during the meeting of the government and Solidarity representatives, an amendment to the law on unemployment will be discussed. The current law gives prerogatives to the management of enterprises.

SDRP Leader Alleges Civil Rights Abuses

LD0203193290 Warsaw Television Service in Polish 1830 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Text] Leszek Miller, secretary general of the Central Committee of the SDRP [Social Democracy of Polish Republic, successor to the Polish United Workers Party] says in a statement that there is frequent infringement of civil rights of people who have views different from those officially voiced.

According to Leszek Miller, such people are refused the right to work in their profession. Leszek Miller gives asssurance to people touched or threatened by such discrimination of his readiness to defend their rights and personal dignity.

To this end, the author of the statement writes, we shall undertake actions aimed at documenting all acts and forms of lawlessness, informing public opinion about them, and cooperating with national and international human rights organizations as well as granting all available help to persons affected.

Leszek Miller calls on persons who feel wronged to submit reports to local party organizations and the rule of law and human rights team of the Central Executive Committee of the SDRP in Warsaw.

Head of Economic Commission Haussmann Arrives

AU0703113290 Hamburg DPA in German 1052 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw—FRG Economics Minister Helmut Haussmann arrived in Warsaw today on a two-day visit to Poland. He heads the work of the German-Polish Economic Commission, and will meet Solidarity leader Lech Walesa in Gdansk on Thursday.

Haussmann is accompanied by representatives of medium-sized enterprises. Upon his arrival he emphasized the importantance of the Polish Government and the Polish people seeing us fulfill our promises made in November (during the visit of Chancellor Helmut Kohl).

He said that he wants to explain to his Polish partners in the talks that economic relations between Bonn and the GDR are a "family affair," and that thus relations "with neighbors and friends" will not be neglected.

Concerning the political controversy over the Oder-Neisse border, Haussmann expressed his satisfaction at the fact that it was possible to settle the "disagreements and linguistic ambiguities" before his visit. Haussmann is scheduled to meet with Polish Premier Tadeusz Mazowiecki and Foreign Minister Krzysztof Skubiszewski this afternoon. On this occasion, the FRG ambassador to Poland, Guenter Knackstedt, will hand over a letter to the premier from Chancellor Kohl, explaining the decision the coalition government made in Bonn on Tuesday.

The economic minister wants to point out to the Poles that Bonn fully supports "the courageous course" of Polish economic policy. No other country has promised Poland so much economic aid as the FRG. What is now decisive is the flow of private capital. Thus, one must create even better conditions. For "historic and economic reasons," the Germans consider themselves the main partner of the Polish neighbor. However, in the long run, the problems must be solved on a multilateral basis, Haussmann concluded.

Polish Tourists Create 'Incident' on Soviet Ship

AU0503115290 Paris AFP in English
1146 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Warsaw, March 5 (AFP)—Some 300 Polish tourists took control of a Soviet cruise liner during the weekend in a dispute with customs officials over the large quantity of luggage and scarce goods that they had with them, newspapers reported here on Monday.

The incident occurred on Saturday and Sunday in the Ukranian port of Odessa on the Black Sea when customs officials decided that the passengers had far more luggage than was permitted and applied commercial taxes which the Poles refused to pay, arguing that they were in transit.

The passengers were returning from a cruise in the Mediterranean aboard the liner Estonia which had made calls at Rome and Istanbul. Each passenger had some 275 kilos (605 pounds) of luggage, or five times more than the maximum permitted under Soviet law.

Most of the contents of the luggage comprised goods which are unavailable or scarce in Eastern Europe, and which give rise to lucrative trade. The goods are brought into the Soviet Union for sale at a profit, and the money is re-invested in jewelery or gold which is carried illegally into the traveller's country of origin for sale at high prices.

In the cruise incident, the passengers occupied the vessel and forced the captain to leave harbour and anchor in the roads.

After intervention by the Polish consulate in Lvov, and by the Soviet Foreign Ministry, a special train was made available to take the passengers directly from Odessa to the Polish frontier, without stopping, to prevent them from trading their goods on the way.

Recently, and for similar reasons, several dozen Polish motorists who were travelling through the Soviet Union, used their cars to block a frontier post in southeast Poland.

PNUC Session To Discuss 'Various Issues'

Cults Ministry Opposed

AU0203162490 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1504 GMT 2 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—In discussions on the first item on the agenda varied opinions were expressed. Among other things, the representative of the Christian Union of Romania proposed that the draft normative acts be debated and endorsed by the plenum of the Provisional National Unity Council [PNUC]. Likewise, the representative of the Democratic Unity Party requested that all draft decrees be approved, before debate, by the Council's commissions and especially by the commission on the settlement of the intimations and complaints of the victims of dictatorship.

Opposing the creation of the Ministry of Cults, the chairman of the Magyar Democratic Union recalled that the Department of Cults it replaces greatly damaged religion in general, during the dictatorship, contributed to the destruction of the church, both as a body and worship place. It proposed the setting up of a Church Council, made up of the representatives of all religious cults, which should take over the functions of the present ministry, without affecting their independence which should be absolute. In fact, the representative of the Magyar Democratic Union asked for the definitive separation of the church from the state.

Although the 1948 decree banning the Greek-Catholic Church was abrogated the worship places have not been restored to it to this day and the religious service is held in the street, under the open sky, said the representative of the Christian Union of Romania. He requested of the PNUC a quick decision to reinstate the Greek-Catholic Church and its faithfuls to their rights.

Why the representatives of the 15 religious cults in Romania have not been invited to this day as observers to the PNUC works? asked the representative of the CDNPP [Christian Democratic National Peasant Party]. He demanded that at least now the suffering inflicted upon the Greek-Catholic Church, the persecutions sustained by its faithfuls, should be the argument for that form of religious cult to be naturally installed within the Romanian Christianity.

In the same sequence of ideas, the representative of the Democratic Union Party proposed that the PNUC should immediately draft a decree stipulating the redemption to the Greek-Roman Church of all assets that had belonged to it.

Referring to the decree-law on the functioning of the National Commission on the Resolution of Citizens' Requests and Complaints who were victims of the dictatorship, the representative of the Trade Union "Fraternity" of Timis County asked that in Article 3 of this decree-law the expression "victims of the dictatorship" should be replaced by "victims of communism" so as to do justice and rehabilitate also the victims before (?1965).

During the meeting, several speakers proposed that the representatives of the denominations should be invited to attend the works of the Council as observers. The proposal was approved with a majority of votes.

In connection with the first item in the agenda, PNUC Secretary Dan Martian read an account on the decree-laws and decrees endorsed so far by the Executive Bureau of the Council and a large number of speakers took the floor. Proposals were made that in the future the decree-laws and the decrees adopted by the PNUC Executive Bureau be also ratified by the PNUC either by being exclusively approved by the PNUC Council or by informing the members of the Council about them before being endorsed. In context, the proposal was made to constitute a conference of heads of parties which should discuss these decree-laws and decrees before being debated and approved by the PNUC Executive Bureau.

At the end of the discussions on this item, it was decided by consensus that in future the decree-laws and the decrees be analyzed and supervised by the PNUC Speciality Commissions and by the relevant state bodies and then submitted for approval to the Executive Bureau of the Provisional National Unity Council.

Debates on the first item on the agenda took only 80 minutes. The decree-laws and the decrees issued by the PNUC Executive Bureau were endorsed, excepted the one on changing the names of localities and streets which is to be studied by the PNUC members and submitted to debate and approval in another session.

The Provisional National Unity Council discussed the proposals referring to the observer status of some political parties and formations at the Council's sessions. The parties set up after February 1, 1990 do not have representatives to that legislative and state power body, but only a status of observer.

On that question contradictory discussions are held. The representatives of the political parties and formations with a status of observer, present in the session, insist on their direct participation one way or another in the country's political life, a requirement sustained by most of the speakers. Their proposals pursue the presentation in the Council's plenum of their standpoints on the decisions to be taken by the PNUC and even the participation in voting. The representatives of the parties and formations making up the Council object, pointing to the recently created parties' status of observer, a status which only allows for the time being their participation in the PNUC sessions.

The discussions are hoped to lead to a general consensus.

Foreign Investment Viewed

AU0203190790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1552 GMT 2 Mar 90

["PNUC Session "—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—Answering a question posed by a ROMPRES reporter during a break of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session, Prime Minister Petre Roman pointed out that a government commission was currently working on a package of regulations on the regime of joint societies and the access of foreign capital in Romania. The Romanian premier underscored that in the light of these new normative acts which will be submitted for approval to the Council, in order to promote the inflow of foreign capital, investors can not only hold the majority stock of a joint company so as to control the company but, if they want, they can benefit by a full participation (one hundred per cent) in the enterprises to be set up in Romania.

During the discussions on the second item in the agenda, the "problem of the representation of the Romanies' Democratic Union as full member of the Provisional National Unity Council was heatedly debated by various political groupings. The question was submitted to vote, and the majority decided on the participation of the Romanies' Democratic Union as a member of the Council, in its capacity of ethnic group.

With a majority of votes it was also decided co-opt in the Council the Federation of Jewish Communities of Romania.

After a break, the works will resume.

Answering a question of a ROMPRES reporter concerning the freedom of the Romanian press, Mr. Petre Roman, prime minister, said: "Yes, it is free, remarkably free, apart from the fact that the influence of the political parties is more and more felt in the press, an obvious partisanship...but the press is free." When asked to state his preference for a newspaper or review, Mr. Petre Roman answered: "First I want to tell you something: Unfortunately I have no time to read the press. What I read are excerpts prepared by a press bureau. I have no preference for any particular newspaper, because I like none so far."

The representatives of a new political group registered today 2 March, the United Democratic Party of the Romanies, Fiddlers and Wood Workers, took their seat for the first time in the observers' lodge for today's session of the Provisional National Unity Council. Mr Octavian Stoica is the president of this new political party and Prof. Petre Radita is its secretary-general.

During the first break of today's session of the PNUC Mr Radu Cimpeanu, PNUC vice-president, made a statement on the right claimed by the groups that have the status of observers to take part in debates: "According to the PNUC's previous decision they have no right. That is they have no right to take part in debates and voting. They have the right to attend, they have the right, which we have just sanctioned to have their say in writing, but they have not the right to participate in debates and voting. That was the PNUC's decision. [no closing quotes as received]

During the first break of today's session, the representative of Romany nomads and cooper smiths of Romania, Dr. Ion Cioaba, said: I appreciate the proposal made by Mr. Ion Iliescu and his other colleagues suggesting that the Romanies should leave the observers' lodge and step into the hall. Which is to say, we made a good beginning. I, who know not only the gypsies in Romania but also the gypsies throughout the world and we are 29 million consider that being able to discuss our specific problems here in the hall is a fine thing. We do not want to make politics. We want to get our rights, to be able to preserve our customs, to no longer be subjected to harassment, the way we were back in 1942.

What does one mean by a gypsy? A bad man but we have to admit that ten, five or one per cent are not bad. We do have our intellectuals.

We hope that having an organization of our own will help relations between Romanians and Romanies develop on new bases and improve.

What I should like everyone to know is that we do not expect a million lei from the state to run in the elections. We do not need that money. So far, we managed to put together four million lei from fees.

In the second half of the session the representatives of the parties with the status of observers took the floor.

Democracy has no settling days and it is not prescribed; it is valid without a term, the representative of the Democracy Alliance said in his address asking the Council to no longer place limits on those groupings' opportunity to take part in decision-making.

The right of the first to have come should not be a criterion for the political parties' inclusion in the PNUC not even in the case of a provisional parliament, the representative of the Republican Union Party said. He incriminated that decision as limitative for democracy which he considered a dynamic category without rigidities.

The Social Justice Party said the parliament was not a restricted club. He requested that, together with the representatives of the other parties in the Council, he should be able to support the interests of the nation, which cannot be some interests in the hall and some other interests in the lodges. In case a favourable decision was not made he suggested the observers to set up a bloc of parties to boycott the PNUC proceedings.

We demand that the observer parties be allowed to express their views, take part in talks, make proposals and attend the proceedings of the Council's specialized commissions, even if they do not have the right to vote, the representative of the Romanian People's Front said.

Peasant Party Claims Stated

AU0203214390 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1930 GMT 2 Mar 90

["PNUC Session"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 2/3/1990—The representative of the Romanian Peasant Party said farmers in the County of Calarasi will stage a demonstration in Bucharest on March 4. He stated his party's solidarity with the claims (agricultural terrains to become their own property rather than to be given for long-term use) and suggested that an agricultural bank be created as soon as possible to grant credits on advantageous, long terms to those willing to buy modern farm equipment.

The Romanian Peasant Party representative also requested the Council to abrogate a number of laws issued during Ceausescu's rule among them, that referring to a 100-per cent rise in rents (from which Interior Ministry employees were exempted) and the celibate tax and to effect an immediate passage to the five-day working week.

The Presidium of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] session proposed and participants agreed that they tackle the fourth item in the agenda—"various issues"—while the question of adding to the nominal composition of the Council's Executive Bureau becomes the last item of the session.

The debates on "various issues" are an opportunity for the political parties and groupings in the composition of the PNUC to express their views and make proposals concerning a number of questions related to the way in which the heritage of former territorial party and youth organization is to be used, the abrogation of decrees and laws passed by the former regime, the immediate passage to a five-day work-week, the freedoms of ethnic minorities, the postponement of the date of elections and others.

During the talks on "various issues" in the agenda, the representative of the Christian Union Party suggested that the former members of the nomenclatura and the Securitate people that held more important positions should have their possessions investigated according to Law No. 18. If their wealth is investigated according to a law they themselves abusively applied during the years of dictatorship an act of justice would be done, the speaker said.

In his address, Mr. Adrei Plesu, minister of culture, requested that the forum necessarily include a representative of the Romanian Orthodox Church, as the Romanians are a faithful people and the absence of national spirituality from that miniparliament is abnormal.

Mr. Plesu considers that the youth should enjoy all the support and sympathy of the Council members and states against the centralization of that social segment in Union of Communist Youth- type organisms. The youth should exist as a polymorphous, dynamic and uncentralized entity, he said.

The culture minister also demanded the demilitarization of the State Archives, currently subordinated to the Ministry of the Interior, showing it should be placed under civil subordination, under the Ministry of Culture, possibly. Archive documents should enter a normal flow since we are faced with a highly responsible mission the writing of a correct national history, Mr. Plesu said in conclusion.

The president of the Provisional National Unity Council advanced to the members of the Council the proposal of the National Salvation Front political movement that Lenin's statue in the Free Press Square be dismantled. The proposal was received with loud applause, from the press lodge included.

He also suggested that debates on the voting bill be included in the next session's agenda, proposal unanimously approved by those present.

In his address Mr. Iliescu surveyed the proposals made during the debates, expressed the agreement of the PNUC Executive Bureau on some of them specifying that many of them, of great interest, would have to be thoroughly studied, which the elected parliament will probably do.

The proceedings of the PNUC session continue.

Upon a proposal by participants in the proceedings and with the agreement of the Presidium, the session of the Provisional National Unity Council was adjourned at 21:00 hours, local time [1900 GMT].

It was decided that further debates on "various issues" as well as the item concerning the nominal composition of the PNUC Executive Bureau would be held during the next Friday meeting of the legislative and state power body.

PNUC Vice President Minzatu on Minority Issue

AU0603133590 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1243 GMT 6 Mar 90

["Opinions on the Minorities' Question"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/3/1990—Several participants were requested to state their opinion on the report read and debates held during the 5 March proceedings of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity Council] Commission on National Minorities.

We do not want to solve the problems of just one minority or another, but of all minorities; we do not want be unfair to any minority, big or small, to any minority in relation to the others, or to the majority Romanian population, said Mr. Ion Minzatu, PNUC vice-president.

I am of the opinion that, together with all the national minorities, we must find the way of sincerity, of logic, and particularly of a historic truth to allow us to take advantage of this moment and overcome all previous conflicts and conflicting spirits, to make all national minorities, big or small, feel fully equal.

Mr. Karoly Kiraly, PNUC vice-president: we are discussing this issue in the rotunda of the Parliament, during a colloquium, which is in itself a progress as to the past. Why do we have to discuss this questions again and again? Because it actually is a component of democratization. At present this question is a little bit distorted as compared to reality, and this due to the manipulation of the national question by certain backward circles. There is also the aspect of fishing in troubled waters by certain more or less influential elements, but influential enough in this case of the national question. These elements want to secure themselves a social, political status not by means of work, merits or value, but by resorting to national feelings which can be manipulated with no material, factual, scientific arguments being requested.

Mr. Robert Schwartz, vice-chairman of the PNUC Commission on National Minorities: the debates contributed to a better understanding of the document read. I think that everybody has realized the need to deal with specific problems differentiatedly, to know each other, not to learn from other what our problems are or should be.

Mr. Varujan Vosganian—Armenians' Union of Romania: the document represents the interests of the big and medium-sized minorities, but the Armenian community—about 8,000—cannot identify itself in it. We do not have problems like the fight against nationalism, autonomy or learning units network. But I am unpleasantly impressed by the fact that our activity is ignored by the state and government leaders who although invited have not honoured us with their presence. I have been impressed by the presence of the counties' representatives. I could note common viewpoints on general principles.

Mr. George Zhelezov, vice-president of the Bulgarian Democratic Union of Romania: the document is rather objective as far as the Hungarian community is concerned, but the other minorities are dwelt with at "varia". We have not come here to claim political positions, but the continuity of the spirituality of the ethnic minorities we represent and this can be done with the help of schools, culture, the preservation of traditions and others. To do so we do not have to proceed from top to bottom from the leadership of the minorities' unions or of the Ministry of National Minorities—the setting up of which has been requested also in the document read here—with directives. We must start from the requests of the collectivities in communes, towns, counties and so on. But one must not stir up chauvinism, or narrow nationalism. We must have in mind, before anything else, our "Romanian home", and see how we can develop freely without prejudicing our neighbours' freedom. We must find the path to dialogue. We must consider ourselves Europeans first and foremost.

Kiraly: 'No Reason To Reconcile' Minorities

AU0603133890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1232 GMT 6 Mar 90

["Karoly Kiraly: We Have No Reason To Reconcile Since We Have Not Quarrelled"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 6/3/1990—In an interview with the daily ROMANIAI MAGYAR SZO it publishes in its issue today [6 March], Karoly Kiraly, vice-president of the Provisional National Unity Council, is optimistic as regards the settlement of the national question: We have no reason to reconcile since we have not quarrelled, he states.

Noting that the situation is complicated in relation to the national question, Mr. Kiraly assesses that it cannot be better than the state of democracy is. Our poor democracy is not able to solve problems, he opines. Henceforth the conflictual states of affairs which have come to light now, though well hidden during the dictatorship. We must not rejoice nor should we wonder at the recurrence of nationalism and chauvinism. Unfortunately, the national question has turned into a means of manipulation, and those who use it have but their interests in view. They are those who stir up larger or smaller waves. It is a very dangerous game because nationalism looks like a contagious disease: it spreads fast, can create illusions obviosly false, as well as fear.

Mr. Kiraly considers that the fight against this danger must be shifted from the street to the legislative bodies, and he believes that the debates on the ethnic minority question will be fruitful. The change in the free Romanian press' tone is encouraging in this respect as there are ever more numerous authors who approach such a question in a European manner.

ROMPRES on Economic Liberalization

AU0503105790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 0922 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Liberalization of the Economy—by Ioan Rosca"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—A regime liberalizing the penetration of foreign capital in Romania will be finalized soon by a special governmental commission. Mr Prime Minister Petre Roman specified that the package of regulations concerning joint ventures is meant to stimulate the inflow of foreign capital under various forms. Foreign investors will be able to hold the majority of shares in a joint venture, assuring them the control over it, and if they want it, they can fully finance enterprises or other objectives in Romania.

Such a decision with deep-going implications in the economic life sanctions the options of a number of experts who consider the grounding of the Romanian economy on the principles of free market as the only alternative of reviving it. The first steps have been made especially in domains where cooperative relations existed although compromised by the bankrupt policy of the dictator who imposed unacceptable conditions on foreign partners, deliberately trying to send them away. Relations have been resumed with "Citroen" and "Renault" willing to contribute to the modernization of the Romanian car manufacturing enterprises in Craiova and Pitesti and therefore of their production on mutually advantageous terms. Among novelties is the cooperation with "Elf" and "Total" oil companies for the extraction of crude from the deep deposits in the continental shelf of the Black Sea, or from the inland deposits, as well as the agreement with "Siemens" for the updating of the national telecommunications network. Interesting projects for the recovery of the Romanian potential in agriculture and tourism, for making them profitable will be carried through with important French firms. All these actions which will contribute to the revitalization of the national economy will be paid back in products resulted from this cooperation.

A beginning has been made, although regulations have not been made official, but when they are they will turn legal the existence of foreign partners in Romania, and, what is more important, will provide the guarantees any foreign investor demands.

Answers are thus given to questions ever more frequently asked of late about the future of the Romanian economy which is, undoubtedly, liberalization as Mr Prime Minister Petre Roman said in the address he made on 23 February in the miniparliament. Not a sudden and forced liberalization which would subject our out-of-balance economy to unbearable shocks but a phased-out one in consensus with bringing it on a "water-line." That this is so is confirmed by a recent decision of the government to set up a commission to work out the economic programme of the transition government to a market economy, including the bases of its adequate mechanism.

PNUC Executive Bureau on Joint Venture Decree

AU0703102590 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 0900 GMT 7 Mar 90

[Text] The meeting of the Provisional National Unity Council Executive Bureau began this morning [7 March] at the Palace of the Parliament. The meeting is chaired by Messrs Iliescu, Campeanu, Ion Minzatu, Karoly Kiraly, Cazimir Ionescu, and Ion Caramitru.

During the meeting, various draft decree laws were discussed. These included: the election of the Romanian Parliament and the Romanian president; the implementation of the five-day working week in state units; the granting of some rights to personnel in the activity of subway operation; the implementation of regular or reduced military service; the stimulation of research and design activities.

Prime Minister Petre Roman requested that the Executive Bureau allow him to present a draft law for endorsement, which he considers imperative for attracting foreign capital investment in Romania,for setting up joint ventures.

On the other hand, Mr. Alexandru Barladeanu suggested that the draft decree law regarding customs regulations, which was included in the agenda, should be canceled, claiming that this decree law is too restrictive. The Executive Bureau will establish today the agenda for the 9 March session of the Provisional National Unity Council.

Joint Ventures With France, Germany Expand

AU0603194790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1709 GMT 6 Mar 90

["The Economy: International Cooperation Revitalized"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/3/1990—The "Resita Renk S.A." Joint Company is being reactivated these days by representatives of the machine-building enterprise in Resita and of the "Uzinexport" foreign-trade company, together with experts from the West German company "Zahnraderfabrik Renk A.G. Augsburg." "Resita Renk," which was set up almost 17 years ago, was a productive experience in the development of cooperation between the two countries. Mr Dan Obadaru, director for Romania of the society, showed that the negotiations under way centered on technology transfer know-how in particular from the West German company "Renk" and the assimilation and diversification of the gamut of products to be manufactured. The first conclusions of the talks conducted between the partners of this reducer producing company are encouraging. The orders the factory in Resita received fully cover its production capacity. The year 1990 will register the largest volume of export of the past 17 years.

Negotiations are also in progress with the representative of "Groupe Parison," France's largest furniture producer and importer, Mr Bertrand Sussmann, who intends to resume the fine commercial relations (opened 23 years ago) with the "Technoforestexport" foreign-trade company. The French businessman said he was interested in a growing cooperation with Romanian furniture makers and expressed his hope that the new legal rules to be issued by the Romanian Government would create a productive framework for the growth of bilateral commercial and production relations.

He said people in Romanian factories are to work in French enterprises to be able to pass on their knowledge, together with French experts, the moment the necessary equipment and technologies are supplied.

The representative of another French company "SimproFrance" (the French committee for the simplification of international trade methods) Mr Michel Charles Favre, now in Bucharest, said he was interested in establishing details of a mutually advantageous cooperation with Romania. He said he wanted solid economic links to be created in production and free technical assistance granted by the experts of the committee. On the other hand, in view are broad exchanges of data by connecting Romania to international telecommunications networks. An experimental dummy started being manufactured for an electronic information-exchange system between specialized institutions in Romania and France, which will provide for Romanian products to be better known in France and for French products to be better known in Romania, Mr Favre said, expressing his belief that the cooperative ties between the two countries follow a fine path.

Macri Interrogation Continues in Timisoara

AU0503192690 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1831 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Justice—The Third Day of the Timisoara Trial"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—Monday [5 March], the public trial of the 21 people accused of complicity to genocide, favouring genocide and other charges continued in Timisoara.

The defendants' lawyers questioned defendant Emil Macri, former chief of the Second Economic Counterintelligence Direction of the Securitate, who had been already questioned on Saturday. Defendant Popescu Ion, former chief of the Timis County Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior, was also questioned.

The trial continues.

Army Democratization Committee Communique

AU0603174490 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 27 Feb 90 p 5

[Unattributed report: "The Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army Announces"]

[Text] ROMPRES News Agency has received the following communique from the Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army:

The Ministry of National Defense conducted talks with the members of the committee and with delegations of a number of Army units focusing on the proposals and claims included in the appeal of 12 February 1990.

Within this framework, a number of points were discussed which have to be solved by the National Defense Ministry.

The participants were briefed on the following steps:

1. Placing in reserve a group of generals, who were recalled after 22 December 1989, as a first step in a bid to solve those proposals and claims.
2. The establishment throughout the military hierarchy of commissions made up of cadres elected within units to examine, wherever necessary, the activity of the military in terms of their genuine contribution to the victory of the revolution.
3. The re-examination and restructuring of the Directorate of Patriotic Education and Culture.
4. The rewording of the military oath and ensuring that the whole Romanian Army takes the oath in March 1990.

The other points in the appeal were then discussed at length in a somber, principled, and democratic way in order to clarify things with a view to the coming dialogue between Prime Minister Petre Roman and the Action Committee.

Colonel General Victor Atanasie Stanculescu, national defense minister, said that the whole Army should be briefed about what will be discussed. He therefore ordered that on 12 March 1990 that, the democratically elected representatives from all Army units are to attend a meeting whose organizational details will be announced later.

The participants also take this opportunity to call on all military personnel to strengthen military order and discipline, a fundamental condition for the strength and stability of our Army.

The democratization process initiated by this committee has been appreciated appropriately, and it has been encouraged and developed by the leadership of the National Defense Ministry, through the measures already taken and those planned for the future.

The Action Committee for the Democratization of the Army reports that the Army and public opinion have been informed of all activities by the press, radio, and television, to whom we now want to express thanks for their support.

We condemn the actions by those who, in our name, took the liberty to distribute leaflets and posters, thus doing a disservice to the Army and the citizens of good faith who have understood and supported our appeal in a civilized way.

On behalf of the committee, the communique is signed by Major Octavian Chiriac, Captain Ioan Inel, and Lieutenant Major Petre Mihaies.

Nuclear, Hydroelectric Power Potential Assessed

AU0503192890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1732 GMT 5 Mar 90

["The Economy—Power Plants"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—Two personalities of the Romanian technical life on the two chances of Romanian power engineering: nuclear power plants and hydroelectric stations.

Mr. Ionel I. Purica, professor in the Bucharest Polytechnic, and Mr. Radu Scutelnicu, general manager of the Hydraulic Construction Institute in Bucharest, say Romanian power engineering could be led out of the current crisis by furthering the nuclear and hydroelectric projects started before.

Eleven years have passed since construction works started on the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda and we need a few more years to put it on line. A period spanning ten-to-fifteen years for the building of a power plant in Romania is not much if we think of the U.S.A., for instance, where the time needed to build such a plant—in conditions in which designs are merely taken out of a desk drawer—is ten years, said Professor Purica. The fact should be considered that this is the first like plant to be built in Romania, in cooperation with Canada. Furthermore, the old dictatorial regime wanted all equipment assimilated in this country to an ever larger extent. The nuclear one included. Which is not wrong, of course, all the more so as we do boast an industry apt to adapt itself to such production. The only problem is that for such an adaption to occur sufficient time should be granted for a quality production, which was not the case before, when the dictatorship fixed "mobilizing" terms. A sufficiently long time is needed because the Romanian nuclear-power programme is more complex than that of other countries. Its major gain is the creation of an elite technical and engineering staff, which should be further trained in Canada and urgently for that matter as assembly works got under way on the first roughly 700-mw generator set and fuel loading and technological tests will take a year each.

It will be easier to put the other four sets on stream considering the experience acquired on the first generator set. As for the machine that will load nuclear fuel into the reactor and which is expected to be built in Romania there is need for closer cooperation with the Canadian side. The heavy water needed for the operation of the "Candu"-type plant could be produced at the chemical combine in Drobeta-Turnu Severin, on which construction works have entered an advanced stage, or could be imported.

As for waterpower engineering, fifty hydroelectric stations with generating capacities ranging from 5 to 180 mw (and totalling 1,250 mw) are under construction at present, says Radu Scutelnicu. In the case of half of them construction works are two to-five years late, for the most diverse reasons, of which the most serious are the groundless cuts in material consumption (by 50 per cent) effected by the supercentralized economic body of this country, the former State Planning Committee. Adding to all this are the equal pay for construction workers, which severed initiative from its roots, and the difficult living conditions on construction sites . All this notwithstanding, hydroelectric stations are still being built, he said, as the cost of a kilowatt per hour generated in like plants remains in the 0.10-0.12-leu bracket. There are also machines and equipment on construction sites but they are used in a proportion of 50 per cent, as the rest is physically and morally degraded. The drastic cut in megalomaniac investment would channel a large mass of people towards hydropower sites and would step up the pace of so necessary a project.

At present, Romania hardly makes do with the units it has in operation and which total slightly over 10,000 mw. A faster pace of construction works on the nuclear plant and on hydroelectric stations could alleviate the serious energy crisis in the economy.

Roman Discusses Energy Matters With Experts

AU0603194090 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Prime Minister Petre Roman met with specialists in the energy area from all economic ministries during a working visit this afternoon. Government members with direct responsibilities in this essential branch of the national economy were also present.

Using statistics on Romania's current energy situation, the participants discussed problems posed by the development of electrical and thermal energy in our country, in order to meet the energy consumption needs for the 1991-95 period and roughly up to the end of this century.

Government Meeting on Economic Profitability

AU0503192290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1833 GMT 5 Mar 90

["Official Events—Meeting of Romanian Government"]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES, 5/3/1990—A meeting of the Romanian Government was held on March 5 to discuss problems of making economic domains profitable.

The minister of the economy read a report on the fulfillment of the major indices for February. The agenda also included problems related to the creation of a mechanism to make profitable the activity in each ministry, and a decision to boost the technical and scientific creativity.

During the debates, Prime Minister Petre Roman asked the ministries to pass most firmly to the elaboration of specific proposals for the transition to a market economy.

Weekly Interviews Foreign Trade Bank President

AU0603112890 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1004 GMT 6 Mar 90

["The Scope of Mystification—Romania's Financial-Banking Relations"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/3/1990—The president of the Romanian Bank for Foreign Trade [RBFT], Mr Vasile Voloseniuc, an expert of international repute, arbitrarily removed from office by the Ceausescus' dictatorship and recently recalled to manage that banking institution, stressed in an interview granted to "CONTEMPORANUL" weekly that in 1968-1975 the RBFT was known in the world as a bank with a very good solvency which used to pay its due bills and honour the pledges assumed on time. The RBFT continued to expand the network of corresponding banks providing conditions for import-export operations and economic cooperation, for non-commercial operations on the best and most advantageous terms, for Romania's presence in the international financial-banking bodies. Thus, the RBFT managed to fulfil its attributions of a state and trade bank establishing relations with over 2,000 foreign banks. Together with prestigious banks the RBFT set up joint banks in France, Great Britain, West Germany, Italy, Egypt, and opened its own branches in the U.S.A. and Switzerland which carried out a positive activity and contributed to the expansion of Romania's economic exchanges with those countries, just as with other states.

But, as Mr Voloseniuc showed, due to the uneconomic methods imposed by the former dictatorial regime, to inefficient imports that had nothing to do with the demands for the modernization of technologies in the Romanian industry, the country's foreign debt increased continuously standing at eleven billion U.S. dollars at the end of 1981, bearing negatively on the country which became insolvent. Under those circumstances, the International Monetary Fund volunteered to grant Romania a substantial credit to reschedule its debts, which Ceausescu refused. Adding to all this was the stoppage of payments to Romania in 1981 which shook the foreign banks' confidence in Romania's ability to honour its international financial obligations. At the same time, the Romanian enterprises, forced to avoid the services of the RBFT had to resort to expensive commercial credits.

Referring to the resources the dictator resorted to to pay Romania's debt ahead of term forced exports and massively reduced imports the RBFT president said that that "solution" meant a huge sacrifice for the Romanian people, with disastrous effects on the economy, more particularly on the equipment of the productive apparatus, and other negative implications: the degradation of the products' quality, non-profitable exports. It is virtually impossible to quantify the loss caused by the reimbursement of the foreign debt in advance, stated Mr Voloseniuc, showing that they could be worth hundreds of millions of dollars. We think that had the reimbursement been postponed by one to two years over 150 million dollars would have been saved. Other tens of millions of dollars were lost by paying back in advance credits with preferential interest rates. The commissioning of important industrial units, such as the nuclear power plant of Cernavoda had been delayed by giving up foreign credits. To build that plant Canada granted a credit of one billion dollars, to be paid back in 32 years, with a 12-year grace period. However the credit was used only partially and even the used part was paid back in 1989. But the commissioning of the first reactor was thus delayed and the electricity it would have produced had to be covered by hydrocarbons imported at prices that were 2-3 times bigger than the annual payments.

Social Problems, Food Supplies Announced

AU0603211990 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2039 GMT 6 Mar 90

["The Economy: Romania's Agriculture in 1990"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/3/1990—During a press conference held on 6 March at the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry, the relevant minister, Mr Nicolae Stefan set forth the problems in the Romanian agriculture in the context of the mutations in the life of society, of the peasants in particular. Stress was laid on the concern to improve the population's supply with various foodstuffs and on a good supply which could be constantly ensured from imports.

Approaching essential aspects referring to the current spring campaign, the minister pointed out that the land lease action should proceed much faster to end in two weeks at the most. He evinced that this should be conducted in keeping with the decree, considering that Romania avails only of 9.5 million hectares of arable land and the number of cooperative members stood at over 5.3 million last year. About 3 million hectares had already been distributed so far. He also said that for the spring campaign seeds of corn, cereals, technical plants and vegetables were ensured both for state and cooperative units and for private producers. As for the pensions of cooperative members it was shown that no pension would be lower than 500 lei for the over one million pensioners of the farm cooperatives.

Swedish Paper on 'Poisoning' of Suceava

PM0103151190 Stockholm SVENSKA DAGBLADET in Swedish 25 Feb 90 p 5

[Anna-Lena Haverdahl dispatch: "'Hidden Plague' Is Destroying Whole Town"]

[Text] Suceava—A poison scandal has made hundreds, or possibly thousands, of young workers invalids in the town of Suceava in Moldavia in the middle of one of Romania's best known tourist areas.

Six tons of untreated emissions of dangerous chemical solvents a day have given rise to a new illness, Suceava syndrome, called after the town which is slowly destroying itself and its 100,000 inhabitants.

The symptoms, which gradually lead to paralysis and breathing problems, are popularly called the "hidden plague," since it was hushed up and kept hidden by the former regime.

The emissions from the town's gigantic wood pulp plant situated in a valley a mere kilometer from the town center is well on the way to poisoning the whole town and its environs. All life—people, animals, water, and plants—has been affected by the emissions, which have been going on for at least ten years.

The high levels of the very hazardous chemical solvent, carbon disulfide, represent the greatest danger. Carbon disulfide can give rise to serious neurological disturbances of both the central and peripheral nervous system.

It also affects potency and fertility and can lead to serious fetal damage. In the long term it has a paralyzing effect on both muscles and respiratory organs.

"This is one of the most dangerous solvents we know of," Arne Straby, departmental director at Sweden's National Board of Occupational Safety and Health, told SVENSKA DAGBLADET. "In Sweden we have very strict limits on emissions of this solvent," he added.

Carbon disulfide, which has the chemical label CS_2, is used in the process which is necessary to turn wood pulp into artificial fibers.

"If this solvent is emitted untreated it can give rise to very serious poisoning of both people and the environment," Arne Straby explained.

The most poisonous emissions from this gigantic wood pulp plant, which employs over 20,000 people in Suceava, come precisely from the section for artificial fiber production where the solvent is a necessary component in production.

For the past week production in the section has been suspended. Halting production was one of the new government's first measures in the gigantic task of cleaning up the absolute ecological desolation which is the legacy of the Ceausescu regime.

But the price paid for the daily emissions is already high, very high.

Ninety percent of the 2,800 workers at the section in question have poison levels which could disable their nervous and respiratory systems for life.

Children are born malformed and the proportion of miscarriages in the area, according to doctors in the town, is very high, as are deaths from diseases of the cardiovascular system. Teachers in the town complain that their pupils have difficulty concentrating and fall asleep at their desks. So far seven workers have died, 250 are invalids, and around another hundred have lost fingers and hands at work as a result of impaired reflexes. The majority of those affected are between 20 and 30 years old.

"No one in this town is unaffected by the emissions," said Dr. Ioan Ietcu, who first documented the scientific connection between the emissions and the new so-called "Suceava syndrome" two years ago.

Dr. Ietcu has now started one of Romania's first environmental protection movements, Pro Natura, with its own newspaper and local sections throughout the country. But it is only now, after the revolution, that he has been able to publish his articles.

Reactions among the town's 100,000 inhabitants were vehement. At last they were able to give open expression to their concern over the consequences of what has been allowed to happen. The concern is not so much about themselves—"our lives have already been wasted," as many people put it—but their fight is rather about the health of their children and of future generations and their chances of having an acceptable environment in which to live.

In the last few weeks thousands of people have demonstrated on the town's streets and squares to try to get the authorities to close the artificial fiber factory.

Schoolchildren in the town have held their own demonstrations with the slogan, "If you love us, don't kill us."

In article after article the local newspapers have described the visible consequences of the emissions. Workers who are ill have spoken out openly.

But there are also counterreactions. Worried workers, and bosses above all, have fought against the closure of the factory out of fears of losing their livelihood.

When the first warnings about the poison scandal in Suceava leaked out to the Ceausescu regime in 1988, the former dictator dutifully paid a visit to the town. Emissions were turned off in good time—a week before the visit.

Ceausescu stated that the worries were unfounded and rejected any potentially protective measures.

"Atmospheric pollution has nothing to do with us in socialist countries. We have already solved those problems. They belong to the capitalist countries of the West," he is reported to have said during his visit.

For the past week there has been no smoke pouring out of the 200-meter chimney at the artificial fiber plant in Suceava. But from the forest of other chimneys at the wood pulp plant untreated emissions are continuing as if nothing has happened.

And no one knows what the final price will be for the Ceausescu regime's environmental crimes, not only in Suceava, but throughout Romania. There are said to be more examples—some even worse—elsewhere in the country.

Suceava Students, Iasi Journalists Strike

AU0603195690 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] The students of the Higher Education Institute of Suceava launched a protest to draw the attention of the relevant central authorities to former claims, which have not yielded the expected response so far.

This morning, this action turned into a general strike which was joined by the trade union of the educational staff and of the technical-administration personnel.

The editors and other staff of the reviews LITERARY DIALOGUE, CHRONICLE, TIME, STUDENTS' OPINION, DIALOGUE, and EVENT, and of the dailies OPINION, and 24 HOURS which are brought out in Iasi, also went on strike, demanding that these publications appear in accordance with the time and number of pages established for each of them separately.

It is specified that the Iasi publishing house is obligated to ensure the appropriate technical and human potential to meet all requirements of a truly free press.

The Iasi publishing house admits that at this time all manpower in the mechanical section is involved in the publication of reviews and newspapers and thus the unit is unable to fulfill its contracts for books and has to pay penalties for orders that cannot be honored.

At the meeting, several printers from the Iasi publishing house said that these problems stem from the lack of properly organizing work and from the incompetence of people in the management of that unit.

The strikers of the Iasi press demand that some representatives of the relevant ministry and of the government come to Iasi since they have the authority and power of decision to solve the problems causing this dissatisfaction positively.

Decree-Law on Repayment of Workers' Social Shares

AU0603205290 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Mar 90 p 3

["Decree-Law on Ways to Repay Employees Social Share" issued by the Provisional National Unity Council in Bucharest; date not given]

[Text] The Provisional National Unity Council decrees:

Article 1. State economic units will gradually repay, until 31 December 1990, the full amount of the social shares paid up by employees.

Article 2. To avoid upsetting the income and expenditure budgets of state economic units and the flow of cash, the social shares will be returned to the savers, with their agreement, as follows:

a) through deposits with C.E.C. [Savings and Deposits Bank], in the savings accounts of the social shares owners, either when they are due or on request;

b) through deposits in current personal C.E.C. accounts;

c) through deposits in personal accounts at various branches of the National Bank of Romania, the Bank for Agriculture and Food Industry, and the Bank of Investments and at various credit cooperative units. Higher interest rates than usual will be paid for the money deposited as social shares. To this end, the government will advance appropriate proposals within a period of 15 days;

d) in cash, at the banks.

Article 3. The repayment of social shares in accordance with the methods stipulated in Article 2 will be done on the basis of timetables drawn up by ministries and their subordinated enterprises, with the agreement of the banks, so that the units can gradually repay the money by 31 December 1990.

Article 4. The C.E.C. and other banks are authorized to employ the necessary personnel to carry out operations envisaged in the current Decree-Law.

Article 5. The National Economy Ministry, the Finance Ministry, and Labor and Social Care Ministry will introduce appropriate changes in the financial economic indexes for 1990.

Article 6. As of the date of the current Decree-Law, the provisions of Article 6 of Decree-Law no 1/1990 on the gradual repayment of social shares are abrogated.

Ion Iliescu, president of the Provisional National Unity Council

Timisoara Genocide Trial Continues 5, 6 Mar

AU0603212090 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2031 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest, ROMPRES 6/3/1990—The Supreme Court of Justice, Military Department, continues in Timisoara the examination of the 21 persons that stand trial for abetting genocide, favouring genocide and other offences committed during the December 1989 revolution. Defendants Ion Popescu and Traian Sima were examined in the sessions of March 5 and 6.

The main charge against Ion Popescu, former chief of the Timis County Inspectorate of the Ministry of the Interior, is of abetting genocide.

Defendant Traian Sima, former chief of securitate [Ceausescu's intelligence service] of the Timis County, is he too, tried for abetting genocide.

The trial is difficult, because of the complexity of the defendants' deeds and because of their striving to exculpate themselves. The examination of the two former zealous defenders of Ceausescu's dictatorship totals over 20 hours and the Court makes persevering efforts to single out all elements conducive to the establishment of the truth.

Doina Cornea Deplores Campaign of 'Rude Rumors'

AU0603211790 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1920 GMT 6 Mar 90

["Denial—Doina Cornea"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/3/990—"Since I resigned from the Front, a campaign started against me of rude rumours, plotting and calumnies, which are not expressed in the major publications by prestigious writers and journalists but in the petty local press that comes out across the nation" says Mrs Doina Cornea in a denial offered to daily "ROMANIA LIBERA" and published in its today's [6 March] issue.

These tabloids, many of them former "local party papers," write that "my family in France and in the country bought numerous factories and enterprises in various Romanian towns" says Mrs Cornea, showing that all her family members have no other money than modest wages or pensions." Her two prizes were used to set up a bureau to coordinate the humanitarian aid and the assistance in human rights in Romania.

Mrs Cornea also denies what the Cluj paper "ADEVARUL IN LIBERTATEA" says, namely that she distributed between February and 15, dollars and objects in behalf of the National Peasant Party in numerous localities in Transylvania in order to induce the people to enroll themselves in that party, showing that she traveled in Norway and Denmark at that time.

In connection with her alleged request that the Western governments desist the aid to Romania, Mrs Cornea says that the Romanian press misinterpreted what she stated in Norway and Denmark, where she said the humanitarian aid to Romania should continue. As for the economic assistance, such as investment in industry, Mrs Cornea admitted, she said it should be stopped until the Romanian Government would bring concrete proofs of decentralization of industry and agriculture, of gradual privatization and orientation to market economy.

Mrs Cornea also rejected Prime Minister Petre Roman's statement in Paris that she had no patriotic feelings, and mentioned her eight years of struggle as a dissident to give the lie to that statement.

Daily Warns of Split in Popular Consensus

AU0403182190 Bucharest ADEVARUL in Romanian 23 Feb 90 pp 1, 3

[Sergiu Andon article: "Overalls and Pajamas]

[Excerpts] The miners who came for the second time "to save Bucharest," upbraided the capital's inhabitants for not defending the institutions created by the revolution, thus forcing the miners to leave their pits and turn themselves into a psychological piston of law and order. (This piston may not necessarily be just psychological, as they warned that "if we are to come for the third time...") The sensation of a human monolith, the mystical glitter of the miners' lamps, the neorealistic impression left by their faces covered with coal dust, and the robustness of the logic and words of their spokesmen turned into a verdict which preempted any appeal, a civic reproach against those in abeyance. We thought that after this demonstration, the people in pajamas will no longer dare utter a word.

But some of those who are watching the televised serial of street assaults have something to say about this episode as well. [passage omitted]

Defining the limits of political tastes between intellectual doubt and proletarian certainty creates the danger—only incipient now, but growing—of contradictions between workers and intellectuals. [passage omitted]

This would be tantamount to a social divorce with irreparable historical consequences. It would mean a huge step backward even compared to the realities of the Ceausescu dictatorship. [passage omitted]

The workers and the intellectuals have never had fundamentally divergent interests, but rather a constant exchange of ideas and destinies. Stalinism has temporarily created an artificial conflict, under the deceiving pretext of the leading role of the workers class, which in reality only meant the oppressing role of a class of bureaucrats recruited from the upstart elements of the workers class. [passage omitted]

If a schism were to take place now, its negative impact would be a source of joy for anti-revolutionaries of all times. But will this come to pass? We believe there is no objective reason for it to happen. [passage omitted]

Three Demonstrations Reported From Bucharest

AU0403205090 Bucharst Domestic Service in Romanian 1800 GMT 4 Mar 90

[Text] Two demonstrations, attended by hundreds of people, took place in Victory Square and in the main streets of Bucharest this afternoon.

At noon a group of some 200 people demonstrated peacefully, for a number of hours, in Victory Square in support of demands which, on the whole, expressed the desire for speeding up our country's democratization process. They took a firm stand against communism, the security forces, the government, and television.

At one point, the demonstrators decided to line up and to move in the direction of University Square where a similar demonstration was under way. Two hours later, they returned to Victory Square where they continued their demonstration expressing the same demands.

Also today at noon, hundreds of peasants, who had come to Bucharest from Arges, Dimbovita, and Giurgiu Counties, demonstrated peacefully in front of the Romanian Government Building demanding the dismantling of agricultural production cooperatives and the appropriation—through distribution—of land and animals to them. They also expressed the desire for the children of cooperative members, who had left their villages, to be put in possession of land free of charge, thus creating the possibility for them to return home and to set up their own farmstead.

Friendship Society With GDR Established

AU0603195190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1705 GMT 6 Mar 90

["Solidarity: GDR-Romania Friendship Society"—ROMPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES 6/3/1990—A meeting took place between representatives of Romanian press and members of the GDR-Romania Friendship Society, on March 6 at the GDR Embassy in Bucharest.

The initiative of setting up the GDR-Romania Friendship Society, said Mr Michael Werner, expert of the Berlin Institute of Chemistry and founding member of the society, belongs to a group of Berlin youth who gathered in front of the Romanian Embassy as early as December 18, 1989, making up a "warning guard" and demanding the withdrawal of the orders and medals awarded on dictator Ceausescu, the immediate severing of the GDR's economic, political and military links with Romania and even the postponement of the opening of the Brandenburg Gate until Ceausescu's stepping down. After the removal of Ceausescu's dictatorship, on December 23-24, those young people collected money aid from the population (50,000 GDR marks and 13,000 FRG marks) and bought with it food and medicines which they sent to Romania through the agency of the Romanian Embassy in Berlin. They also made an appeal to all families in the GDR who wanted to send aid to families in Romania and distributed Romanian addresses to that effect.

The GDR-Romania Society of Friendship, which is to endorse its statute and program, is independent and pursues bilateral contacts on multiple planes between various institutions, industrial enterprises and citizens in the GDR and Romania. After a first visit to Romania on January 1, 1990 for the distribution of aid, the members of the society came back on February 19, bringing aid (food and medicines) for Bucharest, Brasov, Timisoara, Sinaia and the Cluj heavy-machine enterprise.

Romanian-PRC Economic Protocol Signed

AU0603212190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 2031 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Beijing (ROMPRES) 6/3/1990—A protocol on commodity exchanges and payments in 1990 between the Governments of Romania and the People's Republic of China was signed in Beijing by Mr Stefan Stancu, deputy minister of foreign trade of Romania, and Wang Pinqing, Chinese deputy minister of economic relations and foreign trade.

The protocol provisions offer possibilities for the further development of the Romanian-Chinese commercial relations on mutually advantageous bases.

The Romanian dignitary was received by Zheng Tuobin, minister of economic relations and foreign trade.

New Independent Weekly SECUNDA Published

AU0603113290 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1009 GMT 6 Feb 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 6/3/1990—"SECUNDA" ["THE SECOND"] is another independent weekly published in Bucharest. Its three founders—Eugen Chirovici, Nicolae Mateescu and Denis Dinulescu—state their wish to inform readers about the political, economic and cultural life, considering the open dialogue as a guarantee of intellectual freedom.

In its twelve pages the review prints interviews with conductor Sergiu Celibidache, actor Victor Rebengiuc and Writer Domokos Geza, a round table on the bankruptcy of the controlled economy, excerpts of the first radio broadcast during the revolution, news items, articles, and commentaries on Romania's cultural life and sports.

"Irony and truth" could be the characteristics of the weekly as its authors say.

Opinion Poll on Politicians' Popularity

AU0103201190 Bucharest ROMPRES in English 1804 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Bucharest ROMPRES, 1/3/1990—An opinion poll was conducted by the daily "ROMANIA LIBERA." 4,821 letters were sent by citizens of various professions and ages who express their opinions.

Asked to name a single political or social personality the questioned people answered as follows: Ion Iliescu, president of the PNUC [Provisional National Unity County] 1,899 options (39.4 per cent), Radu Campeanu, president of the National Liberal Party 699 votes (13.9 per cent), newspaperman Octavian Paler 438 options (9.1 per cent). Premier Petre Roman comes fifth only (152 options, 3.2 per cent).

Other personalities were Doina Cornea 165 options, philosopher Gabriel Liiceanu 124, Minister of Culture Andrei Plesu 116, newspaperman Petre Mihai Bacanu 88, writer Mircea Dinescu 77 and Parson Laszlo Tokes 60.

Military, Officials Discuss Democratizing Army

AU0103215190 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2030 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Prime Minister Petre Roman met this afternoon with representatives of certain military units, members of a group who, at a similar meeting on 14 February, presented an appeal containing several points connected with democratizing activities within the Army.

During the meeting, National Defense Minister Victor Stanculescu said that the majority of issues included in that appeal had been solved, while other problems are in the process of being resolved. In this respect, he said that a number of generals and officers reactivated after 22

December were placed on reserve. It was decided that the laws and decrees issued in the meantime should also apply to military personnel, without need for National Defense Ministry approval. He said that various criteria for cadre promotion are currently being worked out and that work continues on a draft bill that will also make possible the retirement of cadres through resignations. The presidential units were dismantled. The national defense minister also said that the possibility of shortening the military service of conscripts is under study.

During the meeting, the sides discussed in detail problems regarding the composition of leading military bodies and examined the possibility of finding specific ways and means to democratize activities within the Army. The sides decided to set up a commission to examine problems pertaining to the quality of the Army, namely personnel composition and technical equipment.

Petru Groza Statue Dismantled in Bucharest

AU0603213990 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Three quarters of an hour ago, in the park in back of Bucharest's Municipal Hospital, hundreds upon hundreds of citizens watched as Dr. Petru Groza's statue was taken down from its pedestal. A significant point: Today is 6 March and exactly 45 years ago, Dr. Petru Groza took office as of chairman of the Council of Ministers. That 6 March 1945 actually marked the beginning of our country's long ordeal along a road of a terrible social utopia.

* Dissatisfaction of Military With Regime

90EB0295C Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 17 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Report on interview with Captain Nicolae Eremie, Naval Institute department head, by Anton Uncu; place and date not given: "Who No Longer Believes in Us?"—first paragraph is ROMANIA LIBERA introduction]

[Text] For the second time we have been visited by Captain First Rank Nicolae Eremie, department head at the Naval Institute in Constanta and according to our information one of the officers who made an important contribution to the success of the December 1989 Revolution in the great Romanian seaport. On the first occasion we hesitated to accede to his request to express his opinions on certain problems that have arisen in the military service. We do so now.

[Eremie] First of all, I want to make it clear that what I am about to say does not represent a strictly personal viewpoint but the nearly general opinion of officer cadres of the Navy. However, I assume full personal responsibility. These are two essential matters on which all, or almost all, the others depend.

[ADEVARUL] First of all, please state your position on the televized dialogue between officer cadres and Deputy Prime Minister Gelu Voican Voiculescu, on that occasion spokesman for the chairman of the Provisional National Unity Council.

[Eremie] I am entirely in agreement with the opinions expressed there, and I am perplexed that they accepted Mr. Voican's altogether strange expression of firmness in defending the two contested ministers and the ambiguity with which he answered the questions asked him.

[ADEVARUL] Please be more specific.

[Eremie] Mr. Voican pretended not to understand how active officer cadres could be dissatisfied with reactivation of former officers and their assignment to high command positions.

[ADEVARUL] And what does this dissatisfaction mean?

[Eremie] This reactivation has the effect of a vote of censure. An attempt is made to lend credence to the idea that no confidence can be placed in active cadres of the military service because there hovers over them the guilt of having served under arms during the dictatorship. But when the throngs in Timisoara or Bucharest shouted that "the Army is with us," they referred to the active service and not to former officers walking their dogs in the park. You must forgive me for being vehement, but what is happening is unfair and insulting. Neither Mr. Voican nor any other member of the government has placed confidence in us, but the people have. The fact that the television station, through which all the members of the National Salvation Front [NSF] and the government were presented during those days, offered resistance was due ultimately to the members of the Romanian military service and the officers commanding them. And, Mr. Editor, they were active duty officers whose right to confidence is now being contested and who have been placed under the command of former officers—the great majority of whom began to take part in the defense when scaffoldings began to go up for repairs at the machine-gunned buildings around the television station. It is painful to see something given you by the people be contested by the state.

[ADEVARUL] Captain, you are getting upset over nothing. I do not believe that anyone contests the merit of the military service and its active duty officers so evident in the Revolution.

[Eremie] What do you mean? Were we good enough to lead men in battle against terrorists and Securitate troops and win this battle, but are no longer good enough to lead the military now that the guns have fallen silent? Reactivated officers now hold the majority of higher command positions in the military service. What kind of confidence are you talking about? We are not talking about braid and positions here. It is a question of confidence in the military service and its commanders. Can it be that no one grasps just how serious is this censure aimed at us? What would have happened, Mr. Editor, if the men had stayed in their barracks waiting for reserve or retired officers to come command them, because of a lack of confidence in their commanders? What would have happened, for Heaven's sake, if the military service led by its commanders had blindly carried out the orders received from the dictator? True, we endured the yoke, just as the entire country endured the yoke, but at the decisive moment we defended this unhappy people, not the dictator. Is the cost of this redemption not high enough? Then we are a military service of guilty people. Thus it seems to me to be right that General Militaru, who offended the military service by the measures he took, measures praised so highly by Mr. Voican, should have been dismissed. On 13 January I personally asked Minister Militaru to discontinue the reactivations of officers so as not to create a climate of hostility in the military service. This request had no effect. The reactivations, advancements, and promotions continued in the same discriminatory manner. I am risking my rank, position, and career as an officer, but this situation must come to an end.

[ADEVARUL] You mentioned two important problems at the beginning of our conversation. What is the second one?
[Eremie] No politics of any kind should be practiced in the military service. Not by the NSF, not by anyone.

[ADEVARUL] To my knowledge, no politics are being practiced.
[Eremie] You are not well informed. When Mrs. Doina Cornea makes statements against the Front and fleet headquarters censures her in front of the cadres, Admiral Aron is engaging in politics, and he should not be doing this. When officer cadres presented their demands in Bucharest, the fleet commander immediately sent a letter to the minister expressing loyalty, but the votes were for exactly the opposite. The votes, letters of support, the declarations of loyalty, the censuring of persons who hold different opinions—do all these things not remind you of anything, Mr. Editor? Do you not recognize in such practices the guilty error of persons who want to divert the democracy and liberty just won into another form of tyranny and empty political exercises? The military service must be a service of the people and of the people alone. There is no place in the military service for political disputes. We will never render our oath of allegiance to anyone but the country and the people. The citizens of Romania should know that in us they have a faithful defender. May the weapons we bear be cursed if they ever are used to defend a man who is against the country. Such, Mr. Editor, is the thinking of the cadres of the Navy. Our only regret is that we too were not in Bucharest on those days in December, along with the officers from Timisoara.

* Dangers of Abuse of Governmental Power Cited

90EB0295A Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA in Romanian 14 Feb 90 pp 1, 2

[Gabriel Iosif Chiuzbaian article: "The Vice of Power"]

[Text] A real danger lying in wait for the fragile body of our young democracy unquestionably is the vice of power, sweeter to some than honey. We must not allow this treacherous microbe to act without restraint, and especially we must not allow political leaders, regardless of the groups they come from, to be contaminated by it. Pluralistic democracy is the only way of keeping it under control and of checking the rise of political self-importance and untrammelled ambition.

The risks are very great during this period of transition. It takes time to learn democracy. It has taken us by surprise, in a manner of speaking. The majority of political leaders lack experience. The party platforms show this. Unfortunately, we find much naivete along with powerful and carefully thought out ideas. Of course, time will sift them out just as many of the current ambitious adhoc political groups—ones that will have no chance of surviving especially rough future confrontations—will be forgotten. But this should not frighten us. The force of circumstances will necessarily clarify values. An important part in this clarification will undoubtedly be played by political values of pressure groups (trade unions, public, and professional organizations, etc). In fact, an important provision of the draft electoral law deals with the right of public organizations to propose candidates of their own for the Assembly of Deputies and the Senate (Article 41).

We are passing through a stage in which there is a need, more than ever before, for all the honorable men of this country and for all the forces of reason and social harmony. We regret that a group such as the one advocating social dialogue—a generous and profoundly humanist group that is made up of highly regarded persons—has not been formed in a political organization. We do hope, however, that it will put forward candidates of its own in elections as a public organization.

In the case of a real democracy, the parties, along with other forces of society, form part of the main factors that define the political makeup of a country. Pluralism undoubtedly represents the factor balancing political forces which exclude unanimity and consensus as a definitive element in democracy. This is why the formation of the Provisional National Unity Council represented a decisive step toward democracy, even though equitable representation of groups that enjoy wide support still has not been fully ensured. It would be desirable for the most important public organizations (the Romanian Academy, the Union of Writers, the Society of Journalists of Romania, the Union of Democratic Jurists) to have representatives of their own on the new council. The next step should be the formation of a new provisional government as an emanation of the new organ of state and legislative power which has begun to assume the structure of a parliament, again one of a provisional nature. The district and local councils in turn should follow the example of the central provisional organ of state power.

I believe that the formation of the new council through the participation of all existing political organizations (and, of course, the ongoing inclusion, as observers, of the representatives of nascent organizations), justifies the hope that the transitional stage up to election of a real parliament will be a stable and calm one. I believe that it is in the interest of the country and all political organizations for the elections to be postponed for at least six months. This is the only true way of ensuring participation by all political forces in the elections on an equal footing. Along with the ones already given, many other arguments could be used to justify such a measure.

Thus, the majority of the parties are not prepared to take part in the election campaign. Many of the programs that have been launched are abstract in nature and often confused. They are devoid of clearly differentiated political principles and contain emotional tinges and social demagoguery to captivate as many voters as possible without taking into account the socioeconomic realities of the country and the means of applying their principles. Many program platforms, even if not identical, closely resemble each other. They will be differentiated by the amount of funds which the parties propose to use to carry them out. In the majority of cases it has been impossible to come up with this money. Allocation of the funds needed for participation in the election campaign is merely in the realm of promises. The situation is the same with the headquarters of the majority of these organizations. We also believe that voters are entitled to a suitably long period for thorough study of the program platforms and for learning, after such a long absence of democracy, just what the political and legal instruments of democracy are for carrying out the election process.

We must express our concern that holding elections on a set date (20 May) without preparation of the masses of voters, the parties, and the remaining social forces which are to find expression in this fundamental political and legal event in Romania, will allow political ambition to triumphantly enter the arena, and the perfidious vice of power will be used for the aggressive intolerance that has continued to be a potential danger to Romanian democracy.

Kosovo Alternative Groups Call for Restraint

LD0603163790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1419 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Pristina, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—A section of the Kosovo alternative groups today appealed to members of the Albanian nationality to avoid conflict situations in their relations with Serbs and Montenegrins. At the same time they accuse the authorities of consistently ignoring their demands and of "stepping up repression."

The appeal was contained in a public statement issued by the coordinating body for "Democracy Without Violence" and the recently formed "Parliament of the Youth." The text of the statement was distributed at a news conference held on the premises of the now disbanded Society of Kosovo Writers.

As a step toward "restoring mutual trust and providing guarantees for a peaceful and secure life in Kosovo" citizens of Albanian nationality are called upon in their local communities to set up committees of prominent people who would establish contacts with Serbs and Montenegrins.

Parents, pupils, and teachers of Albanian nationality are also being called upon "to carefully measure out their reactions" to the state education athorities' decision under which pupils of Serbian and Montenegrin nationality will attend classes in the mornings only. The statement also announces that charges will be brought against competent republican and provincial officials and state organs for passing any decision that is described as an attempt to introduce "ethnic segregation."

Albanian alternative groups today again denounced provincial and republican authorities for, among other things, "promoting the state-of-war mentality and legalizing the policy of apartheid and segregation." Isuf Berisa, spokesman for the group, said that the alternative groups remain open to a dialogue that would include representatives of the authorities. When asked if a dialogue had taken place between the alternative groups and the authorities, Berisa refused to give an answer.

Kosovo Casualties for February Reported

LD0603174190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1549 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—Six people taking part in the demonstrations lost their lives during February in the demonstrations and unrest in Kosovo which were a result of the activities of Albanian separatists and nationalists. Thirty-seven people were injured through the use of firearms and an additional 10 people were injured in some other way. Two members of the internal affairs organs were injured through the use of firearms, while three received serious and 78 light injuries.

This is stated in the report of the Federal Secretariat of Internal Affairs on the implementation of special measures in Kosovo which was discussed by the Committee for Internal Affairs of the SFRY Assembly at its session today.

Staff of Pristina Radio Protest 'Insinuations'

AU0603142490 Pristina RILINDJA in Albanian 2 Mar 90 p 4

[Unattributed report: "We Reject Insults Without Evidence"]

[Text] Since the day before yesterday, when the staff of the Serbo-Croatian section of Radio Pristina issued a communique declaring themselves as constituting an independent enterprise, explaining this step with insinuations that Pristina radio and television is allegedly a cradle of chauvinism, separatism, and Albanian national romanticism, and stating that they do not want to work alongside those who have joined the ranks of what they call the neofascist Alternative in Kosovo, the Albanian-language staff in the news and other sections of Radio Pristina have been highly indignant at such serious imputations.

An extraordinary meeting of the news and political programming section was held yesterday, which was spontaneously attended by Albanians workers from all sections; the meeting issued a declaration which stated that it is a legitimate right of everybody to demand anything they consider necessary for improving the programs, a statement which is quite indisputable. However, we are amazed at and utterly reject the baseless, tendentious, and malevolent charges that we are allegedly in the service of Albanian nationalism and separatism and of the supposedly neofascist Alternative.

What was said about us and the Albanian-language programs is an example of the jargon and terminology used today against the entire Albanian nationality. We cannot conceive of it as anything but a direct attack on Pristina radio and television, especially its Albanian-language programs and as part of the tendency to deny the basic values of information and of the culture of the Albanian nationality, which these media should cultivate.

Following these offensive and unprecedented charges, we are forced to defend our moral and professional integrity and dignity, unfortunately against the very colleagues with whom we have shared good and bad times for decades on end. As for the fear that they express, that they have to watch out for their Albanian colleagues behind their backs, calling us demonstrators and separatists, we say that they have nothing to fear behind their backs, and we will speak to them face to face.

We say this because, having fought for nine successive years against Albanian nationalism, we have been forced into not merely a defensive but an inferior position.

However, we are unable to accept the theory of our editorial board's collective guilt, which is often imputed, without any evidence, by various individuals and forums.

The declaration states that the meeting decided to demand that the highest provincial officials should receive as soon as possible a delegation from the Albanian-language section of Radio Pristina.

Mostar Roundtable Talks on Kosovo Assessed

AU0603152390 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 5 Mar 90 p 3

[B. Santic report: "There Are Still 'Two Truths'"]

[Text] Mostar—The matches in which referees are the best players do not usually satisfy the spectators. This is exactly how one could assess the 2-day meeting in Mostar called "A Dialogue About Kosovo." The members of the Association for Yugoslav Democratic Initiative, who initiated and organized the meeting, deserve a straight ten for their good intentions, for best human wishes, and for conducting a dialogue which the two opposing parties were not accustomed to having because so far they have only been playing "Chinese whispers."

However, the players, those from whom the most was expected, did not offer much. It was envisaged that the representatives of Kosovo's numerous alternative movements from both camps would bring at least some building material for the foundation of a future bridge, that they would bring at least some goodwill so that Kosovo problems could jointly be resolved. However, judging by everything that was heard during the 2 days, the meeting amounted more to a series of monologues rather than dialogues. In other words, the participants wanted to present only one truth, their own truth, rather than to hear what the other party had to say.

For the representatives of the Committee for Truth About Kosovo the problem lies in the 400,000 persecuted Serbs and Montenegrins, in rapes, and destroyed graves. For the representatives of the Democratic Alliance, the Social Democratic Party, the Parliament of Young People, and the Kosovo Peasant Party the problem is in the encroachment on the human rights of Albanians and the rights to autonomy. The retorts basically amounted to assertions that Albanians have the same rights as U.S. citizens have in the United States, that the number of expelled Serbs is only a third of the claimed 400,000, and that not every departure from Kosovo, for whatever reason, can be regarded as persecution. Not only did the people did not address one another during these monologues, but at one moment it looked as if the entrenched parties would not leave their trenches at all and approach one another.

For those who did not believe in miracles, the dialogue in Mostar has produced results. They could say that even despite the fact that the construction of the bridge has not started, it was a good thing that both sides showed up at the construction site and that they sat at the table at all, especially because they all agreed that resolving problems in Kosovo requires a democratic dialogue rather than force.

The representatives of Bozur did not turn up in Mostar. They sent a telegram which approximately read as: "We do not want a dialogue with separatists and those who want to divide Yugoslavia." Somebody observed that the telegram sounded like a review of a book that has not been read. The representatives of the Socialist Alliance of Working People of Kosovo, Serbia, and Yugoslavia did not come either. Perhaps they did not seriously understand the members of alternative groups, but could have made an effort to attend the meeting even if they did not have anything to say.

All in all, the construction of a big bridge requires a lot of building material. For the time being both parties are still at their sides of the river.

Markovic Receives Islamic Community Leaders

LD2802231690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1851 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, February 28 (TANJUG)—Peace can be achieved in the province of Kosovo only in a democratic way, but there can be no political dialogue as long as ethnic Albanian separatists pressurize and (?threaten), Yugoslav Premier Ante Markovic said today in a talk with representatives of the supreme leadership of the Islamic community in Yugoslavia.

Markovic added that a dialogue would be established in Kosovo only with those who have the prosperity of the country at heart, with respect for the interests of the country as a whole, the constitutional position of the Republic Serbia and, in that context, Kosovo.

Representatives of the supreme Islamic leadership expressed concern for the slow settling of the dramatic events in Kosovo, but also optimism that reason of people of good will would prevail and lead to peace and tolerance in that region as well.

A curfew was introduced in Kosovo a week ago because of the January and February unrest by ethnic Albanian separatists and terrorists.

Markovic pointed out it was difficult to open a political dialogue in Kosovo because of the aggressive separatists who do not want changes because they would cause them to lose power and influence.

Markovic informed the Islamic leadership that investigations were under way in all cases where there is doubt that state organs in Kosovo might have overstepped their authority.

The leaders of the Islamic community said that their religious officials had been abused in some cases, which, they said, caused growing concern among their believers.

Multi-party pluralism has been introduced into the political system of Yugoslavia, in which there is room for religious organizations provided they respect the integrity and constitutional order of Yugoslavia, Markovic underscored.

Officials, Parties on Future of LCY, Congress

Slovenia's Ciril Ribicic

AU0503092190 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 90 p 7

[Reprint of "excerpt" of interview with Ciril Ribicic, president of the Slovene LC—Party of Democratic Reforms, by Josip Jovic published in NEDJELJNA DALMACIJA; date of paper not given: "The End of LCY?"]

[Text] [Jovic] What are the chances of the 14th congress resuming its work, and will its definite end—if it comes to that—not mean the end of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] itself?

[Ribicic] My prediction, and not my wish, is that the congress will not be able to continue, just like the old relations which led to the congress being interrupted will not be able to continue. There are two options. The first option is to continue the congress, to basically retain old relations and carry on with some compromises that were extorted and to fill the empty space created by our departure by creating a classical communist party of Slovenia as a parallel organization. The second option is the one which we are trying to offer and with which we are trying to convince our other colleagues—that is, the presidents of other central committees—that we presidents of the republican organizations should meet and start talking about new bases for mutual cooperation and links. So far this has not been received positively. If the consensus and the rights of the minority continue to be rejected, then the League of Communists of Croatia, and later the League of Communists of Bosnia-Hercegovina, will also leave the LCY, and those who remain in it will themselves eventually determine the things they would like to determine by outvoting. The election of Petar Skundric as LCY Central Committee Presidium secretary is in conflict with the established procedure. The election of a man who contributed to quarrels does not open up special prospects for establishing cooperation.

[Jovic] The question of the new SFRY Constitution is becoming increasingly topical. There are completely opposing views. Is there any chance of achieving a consensus?

[Ribicic] I do not think that we can reach an agreement at present, since the Presidium has come up with two options regarding the arrangement of federal relations in Yugoslavia. If the republics do not agree on the direction of essential changes, then the act on the start of the procedure cannot be passed. This means that the blockade will be continued in the very first stage. Even this is better than achieving some general formal agreement which would be followed by the extortion of certain solutions. Regarding the direction of the changes, our public's mood has been tested and we must proceed in that direction. Seventy percent of the polled citizens voted in favor of a confederation. However, we must take into account the views of all citizens because we do not want to decide on people's behalf again.

[Jovic] Some other republics will not agree with this solution. What is the solution then?

[Ribicic] If one part of the country is in favor of one thing and the other in favor of another, let it then be like that. I do not see any major problems with this. We can reach a compromise with not only the federal units, but also with the entire public, especially if we prove to be successful with our economic reforms, if the integrative processes start with the development of market laws, and if there is a tendency toward democracy with a multiparty system. We are not talking about imposition or force. Only those who possess an actual veto, who think that they will always be in the majority, can be against a consensus. It is quite erroneous to think that Serbia would accept outvoting if Serbia itself was affected. This was demonstrated in the LCY and in the SFRY Assembly....

Croatian LC President Racan

LD1102201290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1233 GMT 11 Feb 90

[Text] Zagreb, 11 Feb (TANJUG)—The Croatian League of Communists [LC] wants to make a contribution to the renewal of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] and will continue to participate in all negotiations and talks which lead in this direction. This could be achieved on the basis of a minimum of unity in the views of all the parts of the LCY, something which would be a precondition for holding a new LCY congress at which the new program and organizational bases of the LC as a Yugoslav organization would be defined.

This was stressed today at a news conference by Ivica Racan, president of the Croatian LC Central Committee Presidium, who expressed the stances and assessments from the Croatian LC Central Committee session which ended last night.

At this meeting the introductory part of the electoral program entitled: "The Croatian LC: A party of Democratic Changes," was approved. After discussion in basic organizations, this document which sets out the Croatian LC's strategy for the spring elections, will be put forward for approval at the Croatian LC conference, which will be held at the end of February or the beginning of March.

Proposals for organizational adaptation to the new conditions were also considered at the Croatian LC Central

Commitee plenum. Among other things, consideration was also given to a new method of financing the party and the decision was adopted to reduce membership fees by 30 percent.

Kosovo LC Urges Resuming Congress

AU0503190490 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] The League of Communists of Kosovo sticks to its earlier view that the adjourned 14th Congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] should be resumed as soon as possible. This is the stand adopted today at a session of the Presidium of the Provincial Committee of the League of Communists of Kosovo.

The opening speaker, Nikola Staric, executive secretary of the Provincial Committee, positively assessed the efforts of the Presidium of the Central Committee of the LCY regarding the continuation of the congress' work, especially because the interruption has adversely affected the stabilization of the situation in Kosovo. Staric also expressed the view that the LCY should remain a unified organization.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Adopts Stands

LD2401224790 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1722 GMT 24 Jan 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 24 Jan (TANJUG)—We understand and accept the situation in which the League of Communist Yugoslavia [LCY] has found itself after the suspension of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress as a component part of the historic turning point for the LCY and our society. This is stated in the stands of the Bosnia-Hercegovina League of Communists [LC] Central Committee Presidium, published today, on the suspension of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress.

For this reason, it is further stated, we do not consider the supensions as the final failure of the congress, especially not as the breakup of the LCY but as an attempt to search, in new circumstances, for solutions that will mean overcoming objective differences that exist in the LCY.

No matter how uncomfortable the existing situation may be, it is a component part of democratization processes in the LC and society. The whole of the social crisis and thus also the crisis in the LCY can only be overcome more quickly by accelerating fundamental reforms in society.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC will do all it can to preserve the unity of the LCY but on a new democratically established program basis. The starting point for achieving such unity is to be found in the radical transformation of the LC, the nonacceptance of the rule by numerical majority, i.e., outvoting when deciding on vital issues which refer to program orientation, fundamental principles of relations within the LC, and national equality.

According to the positions, the starting point is to be found in the reaffirmation of necessary independence of parts of the LCY, which proceeds from the sacred responsibilty of Communists to act in the interest of the working class, nations, and nationalities of their environment, republic or province, especially under conditions of political pluralism, and in the coordination of stands based on a realistically possible degree of unity in the LCY under the current circumstances, which presuppose tolerance and respect for objectively existing differences.

Regardless of the fact that delegates from the Slovene LC left the congress, we consider the Slovene LC to be a constituent and equal part of the LCY with which—as with all other parts of the LCY—we shall seek solutions for overcoming the present situation in the LCY.

We are unanimously against the breakup of the LCY and of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC into organizations of opposing programs. We energetically support the radical reform of the LC and its transformation into a modern democratic political organization suited to the new project of democratic socialism.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium finds a basis for these stands in the fundamental orientations of the 10th Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Congress. We support the orientations of the 14th extraordinary LCY Congress and will directly engage in the accelerated continuation of the coordination of views on all main controversial issues, both within the framework of the LCY organs and in direct contacts between parts of the LCY.

The resolute stand of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium is that under the present circumstances, even regardless of the development of relations in the LCY, the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC should act as a united organization of Bosnia-Hercegovina Communists.

Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Urges Continuation

LD0503224290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1742 GMT 5 Mar 90

[Text] Sarajevo, 5 Mar (TANJUG)—The proposed solutions of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] Central Committee Presidium concerning the break-off and further work of the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, present a sound basis for harmonization of stances and achieving cohesion among all parts of the LCY about key issues of the League of Communists [LC] transformation into a modern democratic political party, today's session of the Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium assessed.

The Bosnia-Hercegovina LC Central Committee Presidium stresses in the statement from the session that it still holds that the necessary conditions should be created to continue the 14th Extraordinary LCY Congress, which should announce a new program basis, mutual relations, and statutory and organizational solutions in the League of Communists.

Vojvodina Leadership on Resumption

LD0902043890 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1950 GMT 8 Feb 90

[Text] Novi Sad, Feb 8 (TANJUG)—The League of Communists of the northern province of Vojvodina is resolute in its stand that the recently interrupted 14th special congress of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) must be continued as soon as possible.

"We urge that a climate of tolerance and confidence be created and that all the necessary suppositions be secured for a continuation of the work of the congress," Nedeljko Sipovac, president of the party organization which initated the convening of the early top meeting of Yugoslav Communists, told the session of the provincial committee in Novi Sad today.

The congress in Belgrade was interrupted after three days of work on January 23 when delegates from the party organization of the northwestern Republic of Slovenia walked out, certain that they had constantly been outvoted.

The top Vojvodina party leadership assessed that the 14th special LCY congress had, until the moment of its interrupiton, mostly passed in an atmosphere of democratic and constructive debate, while taking into consideration different views, proposals and inititives.

On numerous occasions during the debate, however, differences in the LCY grew into intolerance and unwillingness to hear out and take into account arguments, speakers at the session said.

Such a tone in the debate was particularly imposed, the Vojvodina Communists assessed, by the delegates from Slovenia who were intransigent on their stands.

The LCY has prospects, the Vojvodina party leadership concluded, only as a comprehensively democratized, modern, reformed and united political organization which will have a clear program and organization identity throughout the country.

The party leaderships of the Republics of Serbia and Montenegro have so far most clearly supported the continuation of the congress.

LCY Presidium's Legitimacy Questioned

AU2102120090 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 17-18 Feb 90 p 2

[Ivan Torov commentary: "Sessions for New Quarrels"]

[Text] Does the present Central Committee Presidium of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] possess any political and statutory legitimacy? This question has demanded an answer since the adjournment of the 14th Extraordinary Congress in January, particularly because a regular little series of announcements has been issued from the sessions of this body which, as is known, are not attended by members from the Leagues of Communists of Slovenia and Croatia.

This has in fact called the work of the Presidium into question and the leaderships of the Leagues of Communists of Slovenia and Croatia have bluntly told President Milan Pancevski that these two organizations deny the Presidium's legitimacy, and therefore also the decisions and stands it adopts. This is even more so since they said more than clearly at the federal congress who they consider to be to blame for the LCY's disintegration and the paralysis in which the highest party leadership, that is to say, the LCY Central Committee has been for several years.

Ignoring Is the Recipe

The Central Committee of the League of Communists [LC] of Croatia was adamant in its stand that the first session of the Presidium cannot be held and even if it is, members from the LC of Croatia will not take part. It was demanded that instead of a Presidium session, one should hold a consultative meeting "in the Presidium." The Slovene LC was even clearer. They do not recognize any Presidium sessions. The talks can be continued, but only between the presidents of the republican LC organizations and they should be held always in another town, not only in Belgrade.

The first debate after the congress' adjournment was really held as "a consultative meeting in the Presidium," but the following ones were presented to the public as official sessions of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

Since the Presidium and its president Pancevski were denied legitimacy and legality (because members from the LC of Slovenia were not present), one inevitably entered a new political labyrinth from which the Presidium tried to emerge by saying that its sessions will be attended by "those who want to attend them" and by ignoring the views of the two republican organizations almost completely.

Such a move, together with the Presidium's persistent insistence upon the continuation of the Congress "as if nothing much had happened," could not of course avoid new sharp reactions. Having repeated that it does not recognize the legitimacy of this Presidium and of the LCY Central Committee, the Conference of the LC of Slovenia stated that "the LCY no longer exists for the Slovene leadership" and that it is high time one started thinking about a new and essentially different party. Some Slovene and Croat communities accused Milan Pancevski of "abusing his office" and of behaving as president of the organization although that organization "no longer exists." Along with the remark dating from the past of having "violated the previous agreement on the way to adjourn the extraordinary congress," he was also reproached for introducing additional confusion into the political division that overwhelmed the Yugoslav high political leadership by issuing additional announcements on the Presidium's work."

"It seems to me completely unproductive to continue holding sessions at which one would continue work with the same methods that led to the adjournment of the 14th congress," Ciril Ribicic tells Pancevski and points out that his methods of work "allow inequality in relations among republican organizations."

Remarks addressed at the Presidium and Pancevski were also received from the LC of Macedonia, the organization from which Pancevski had come to the LCY. Speaking at the Commission for Social Reforms of the Central Committee Presidium of the LC of Macedonia on the occasion of the 9 February announcement of the LCY Presidium that "the 14th Congress will continue regardless of the present circumstances," Kole Casule says that the announcement provoked "indignation and anger, so one must be aware of the stand of the LC of Macedonia." This stand was announced shortly before this session, and it clearly said that delegates from the LC of Macedonia will not attend the possible continuation of the congress if it is held without one republican organization. At the same session of the Commission, Vladimir Milcin said that "one cannot overlook this announcement because it calls into question the LC's suitability among people with critical thoughts." Speaking on this occasion, Petar Gosev, president of the Central Committee of the LC of Macedonia, expressed the opinion that one should do everything possible in order to stop the rift in the LCY, albeit, he said, "not at any cost."

Composition Which Is Not Quite That

"The present communications in the LCY Central Committee Presidium represent an attempt to find a common solution with the Leagues of Communists of Croatia and Slovenia. We cannot accept any other solution. However, it is true that such an announcement is pushing the LC into accepting being torn into two wings. In fact, there were some such proposals at the 14th Congress," Gosev pointed out and announced that one is considering convoking the Conference of the LC of Macedonia "in order to sound out the opinion about these questions."

Now, let us return to the Presidium itself. It holds its sessions almost regularly although it has been considerably reduced in number. Of 23 members, only 16 attend the sessions. The only complete "delegations" are those of the LC of Serbia (B.Trifunovic, P.Skundric, D.Ckrebic), the LC of Macedonia (P.Gosev, M.Pancevski, Lj.Varoslija), the LC of Bosnia-Hercegovina (N.Durakovic, I.Brigic, U.Uzelac), the LC of Kosovo (R.Morina, J.Zejnulahu), the LC of Vojvodina (N.Sipovac, S.Radmilovic), and the LC in the Yugoslav People's Army (P.Simic). Of the members from the LC of Montenegro, only Momir Bulatovic and Momir Grbovic attend the sessions while the third member, Perko Vukotic, who resigned several months ago, does not attend them. None of the three members of the LC of Slovenia—C.Ribicic, S.Korosec, and B.Muzevic—is attending the sessions. The situation is the same with the delegation of the LC of Croatia which now has only two members after S.Stojcevic left following elections, Ivica Racan (playing a double role), and Marko Lolic.

Of the 16 members presently in the Presidium, seven Central Committee and provincial committee presidents and the president of the LCY Committee in the Yugoslav People's Army are participating in its work. It is important to say that two Presidium members, Stanko Radmilovic and Jusuf Zejnulahu attend sessions regularly although they are at the same time presidents of executive councils of Serbia and Kosovo respectively. Really, what a "wonderful" union of state and party!

Vanity Has Prevailed

Pancevski has been preparing and chairing the sessions himself, because Secretary Stefan Korosec "is not coming to work." Answering a question in Pristina recently, Pancevski said that he (Korosec) will be discussed at the next Presidium session. One can already guess the tone of the discussion from the criticism and gravest possible labels he was attached to primarily in Serbia and Montenegro.

As much as its regular sessions and television pictures of them (the sessions now held in a much smaller hall) create an impression that "nothing can take it by surprise" and that it can also work without the missing people and make decisions on important issues such as Kosovo "on behalf of Yugoslav Communists," the LCY Central Committee Presidium should nevertheless think a little more about its position and about the simple fact that the "production" of stands and delivery of announcements seem to the people to be ironical and not serious. Most of its present members seem not to have learned lessons or drawn consequences after they received harsh criticism because of their work and behavior during a lengthy period of time as well as at the January congress itself.

Considering the "north-west Communists" to be the main and only culprits for the party breakup (forgetting that the process had begun long before and only had its logical outcome at the congress) and considering themselves to be the faultless people to whom the "party grassroots have given a blank check of confidence," the present Presidium is only confirming—be it consciously or unconsciously—the already notorious fact that the LCY, such as it was before the congress, no longer exists. While it is holding sessions and incessantly appealing for the its unity to be preserved, others are seceding and swiftly preparing themselves for parliamentary elections.

It seems that the basic mistake was made immediately after the congress when one failed to realize soberly and with political consideration and responsibility where such a course taken by the present Presidium is leading. One cannot disregard the feeling that instead of seriously talking about proposals to find a satisfactory solution in direct meetings of presidents of republican parties, the political vanity prevailed of those who refuse to accept the fact that according to the statute, the stands and decisions of a party body cannot be valid if representatives of one or more republican organizations are not attending its sessions due to strategic reasons and not illness. Does anybody still need it to be repeated that a united LCY is composed of six republican organizations, two provincial organizations, and the LCY organization in the Yugoslav People's Army?

Well, since it is nevertheless holding regular sessions, the Presidium should better accept the reality and say in its announcements more clearly on whose behalf it is speaking, to admit the defeat of the present LCY organization, and start working on finding ways for a possible new rapprochement of the parts of the LCY that have after all been independent for several years already. The present method of activity is counterproductive: It brings new confusions and divisions, foments passions and further quarrels, pushes people away from each other, and creates an illusion of legitimacy which has no cover in the real situation of political relations in our country.

LCY Membership Continues To Decline

AU1801094890 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 15 Jan 90 p 4

[I. Torov article: "Dried Up Carnation in Buttonhole"]

[Excerpts] In the middle of 1989, the League of Communists of Yugoslavia [LCY] had 1,945,337 members, but it is unknown with how many members it will start its extraordinary congress. The party's slow administration is not able to estimate, let alone precisely establish, how many members the LCY has today.

All that is quite certain is that the mass attrition of membership in the second half of last year and January of this year has become even more dynamic. One could say that it has assumed the pace with which the price increases and the general crisis were breaking world records.

Why Are They Staying

Whatever the membership may currently be, the fact is, however, that the LCY membership still numbers in the millions. The absurdity is therefore complete: At the time when our country is experiencing the most difficult political crisis, when the generator of the crisis in the League of Communists has demonstrated that he is not able to tackle the crisis, when the republican party leaderships managed without a problem or resistance to make the people quarrel with one another and push Yugoslavia into a complete uncertainty, a vast number of people continue to think of themselves as members of this impotent and tarnished party.

The answer lies in several facts. The great "success" of the League of Communists lies in the fact that during the long period of its unviable rule, it created a strong party-bureaucratic apparatus which has embraced all forms and institutions of social and political life. Even when it was not numerically strong, the party deployed itself well, which has been demonstrated by all the unsuccessful attempts so far to introduce social and economic reforms. Today these people still hope that the League of Communists will "recover" and continue to work in its old way. This is why they continue to be loyal to the party's imposed principles.

On the other hand, there are quite a number of those who got into the party ranks for various reasons and motives, mainly for career reasons and because of the famous Bolshevik "moral-political suitability" (the conditions for getting accommodation, job, post...). When the party's grace and favor was no longer needed, many left it, but a fair number stayed out of fear that the repressive nature of the party could be resurrected. [passage omitted]

Membership in the LCY (CP of Yugoslavia) Between 1945-1989

Year	Number of Members
1945	161,880
1946	258,303
1947	285,147
1948	482,938
1949	530,812
1950	607,443
1951	704,617
1952	772,920
1953	700,030
1954	654,669
1955	624,806
1956	648,616
1957	755,066
1958	829,953
1959	935,856
1960	1,006,285
1961	1,035,003
1962	1,018,331
1963	1,019,013
1964	1,031,634
1965	1,046,202
1966	1,046,018
1967	1,013,500
1968	1,146,084

1969	1,111,682
1970	1,049,184
1971	1,025,476
1972	1,009,947
1973	1,076,711
1974	1,192,466
1975	1,302,843
1976	1,460,267
1977	1,623,612
1978	1,774,624
1979	1,884,475
1980	2,041,299
1981	2,117,083
1982	2,154,627
1983	2,177,089
1984	2,167,860
1985	2,152,686
1986	2,108,043
1987	2,052,121
1988	1,987,047
1989	1,945,337.

[passage omitted]

LCY To Stop Financing Party Weekly

LD0203210390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1538 GMT
2 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 2 (TANJUG)—KOMUNIST, the organ of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY), is facing imminent closure, as the LCY party leadership has decided to stop financing the weekly from April 1 this year, the Belgrade daily BORBA writes.

The Presidency of the LCY Central Committee has suggested to the KOMUNIST publishing house, the publisher of the weekly, to find commercial sources of financing, which is in accordance with the committment to reforms in the country calling for market-oriented economy principles in all sectors.

The organ of the LCY, which has been in publication for six-and-a-half decades, lived primarily from subsidies from the party coffers. Its circulation, the largest in the country (over 500,000 copies), has long been fictitious and very far out of proportion with its real influence.

The weekly's latest crisis represents the climax of a crisis of its editorial policy, which is in itself a result of the current crisis in the LCY.

KOMUNIST's future will probably become known only after the continuation of the 14th special LCY Congress (broken off late in January), on which hangs the fate of the party itself.

Consumer Prices Fall; Inflation Slows

LD0603134790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1112 GMT
6 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 6 (TANJUG)—The growth of prices in Yugoslavia is gradually slowing down, evidenced by the inflation recorded in February—only 8.4 per cent—and by the latest fall in the retail prices of bread and other products throughout Yugoslavia.

Bread prices in Belgrade were yesterday lowered by the MPI bakery, and were between eight and 16 per cent lower than the day before. MPI's bread is now among the cheapest in the country, a record held until recently by another Belgrade firm, KLAS. Bread prices are also down in Yugoslavia's grannary, the province of Vojvodina, where the Sobotica-based Fidelinka Bakery has reached agreement with a number of retail outlets on a reduction in their profit margins.

Many other prices are also starting to fall—notably various staple food products and other consumer goods, such as flour, cooking oil and sugar, as well as household appliances, audio and video gear.

The price drop is partly the result of a decision by the government to import a certain quantity of consumer goods and appliances with the aim of stabilizing the Yugoslav market.

Yugoslavia last recorded single-digit inflation in May 1988, when it was 3.8 per cent.

If the current price trend continues, prospects are favorable for the rate of inflation to reach a negative figure in April.

Markovic on Economic Issues; Meets Officials

On Foreign Debt, Currency Reserves

LD0603232190 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1940 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 Mar (TANJUG)—In reducing its external debt to $16 billion, Yugoslavia moved from the circles of most indebted to middle-range indebted countries of the world, Federal Executive Council President Ante Markovic said today at a seminar for foreign reporters in Belgrade.

The FEC president informed about 40 foreign correspondents, who are attending the seminar organized by the FEC Secretariat for Information, that it is expected that foreign currency income will reach about $27 billion this year and that the foreign currency reserves will reach $10 billion.

Markovic was categorical that inflation in March will be around zero, and that in April it will even be negative.

The Federal Executive Council is aware that social tensions will accompany its program. However, it will not react to strikes, especially not with repressive measures, Markovic said.

On Future of Steel Industry

LD0203235290 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1728 GMT 2 Mar 90

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 2 Mar (TANJUG)—The original sin of our country's iron and steel industry is not its existing production capacity and present programs but, above all, its structure and the fact that it has for too long failed to embark on the restructuring carried out by this industry around the world. This process has already been completed in the FRG, the United States, Great Britain, France, Spain, and even in Japan, and now it is about to be completed in Italy, too, while our dealing with its long-term cycles has led us only to the stage of drawing up programs.

Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic said this, it was announced, in his talks with representatives of the Yugoslav Iron and Steel Industry as he discussed this industry's difficult economic position. With the exception of some specialized programs, and if everything is taken into account, our country does not have potentially serious projects for its iron works, which also have to pay in this way for our development up to now, Ante Markovic stressed.

The state-governed phase in the development of socialism and the principles of the consensus economy introduced later, according to which each republic tried to secure its own iron and steel industry, were instrumental in the fact that this industry has essentially remained stunted. This is followed by its technological obsolescence—25 percent of steel is still produced in Siemens- Martin blast-furnaces, a fact that largely increases the cost of production. The very high number of unemployed is also a serious problem now as is also the inadequate structure of capital in this industry which is otherwise very capital-dependent.

Hampered by its past mistakes, the iron and steel industry is embarking on reforms which aim not only to bring inflation down and curb inflation but also to leave deeper cuts. We are aware that it is full of unsettled accounts and that short-term measures to cure it cannot bring about real effect. For it is only a new concept, with adequate programs and estimates and better exploitation of its internal reserves, that can save this industry. The necessary changes can then be made in the framework of this as we proceed. By refraining from interfering in the existing monetary framework and the prices of this infrastructural production (which are under the system of social control), the FEC is, Ante Markovic said, willing to help this industry, too, thanks to a more active role assumed by the federal budget. This will be done by taking certain ad hoc measures which would relate, say, to import duties, taxes, administrative fees, foreign loans, interest rates, annuities, and promoting goods on the foreign market. Nevertheless, these producers also have to seek their long-term salvation only in quicker sale of their products and in forcing their customers to pay their outstanding debts. They now amount to 4.2 billion dinars. [passage omitted: the representatives of the iron and steel industry talk about their problems]

Talks With Exporters

LD0103112590 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2120 GMT 28 Feb 90

["Pool" item]

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The program of economic reforms should consistently be implemented and the government is resolved to firmly stand by this, Yugoslav Prime Minister Ante Markovic said during talks with some 50 major domestic exporters here on Wednesday.

Markovic underscored that the critical stages for the realization of the program, adopted by federal parliament late last year, are expected over the next two months, after June and late in the year. He said, however, that all problems can succesfully be resolved by releasing all potentials.

Markovic pointed out that the convertibility of the Yugoslav currency, dinar, would be maintained at all costs, because the contrary would mean, he said, the abandoning of the reform.

Convertibility is a means and not the aim of the reform, Markovic said, adding that there is no reason to doubt the dinar's strength because the country's foreign exchange reserves amount to as much as 7.4 billion dollars, while the biggest foreign currency inflow is yet to come.

The prime minister also said the basic function of a restricive monetary policy is to protect the domestic currency and also ensure its convertibility in international transactions.

Markovic stressed that, in the future, money will not be printed without a foreign currency and gold cover and that the domestic export economy should seek additional funds in realistic sources, including securities. In this respect he proposed that the domestic exporters sell their securities in foreign markets.

Vice-prime Minister Aleksanbar Mitgovic told the [words indistinct] that the Feburary inflation is expected to be lower than in January (words indistinct) 17.3 percent rate does not upset the reform program and will not affect the total annual inflation, which the government forcast will reach 12 percent Mitgovic said.

According to Central Bank Governor Dusan Vlatkovic, the liquidity of domestic banks improved over the past eight days, thus proving that the credit and monetary policy measures are taking effect.

Also underscoring that the stability of the dinar and the country's liquidity are ensured, Vlatkovic said that internal liquidity should be resolved between the government, Central Bank and the domestic firms.

Meets Shipping Representatives

LD0603232890 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1726 GMT 6 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, 6 March (TANJUG)—The basic thrust of the changes in the economic sphere—our currency's convertibility and the exchange rate we have established—will be defended with all available means. The hope that we shall desist from that should not be entertained, nor should solutions based on that hope be sought, said Federal Executive Council [FEC] President Ante Markovic during his meeting with representatives of sea and river shipping organizations in Yugoslavia and of the institutions responsible for the maintenance of the sea and Danube River routes.

As reported, Markovic stressed that, as a result of the measures taken within the context of this new process, an active role had been taken by the federal budget, and this made it possible for temporary measures to be introduced which can help individual sectors of the industry resolve some of the problems they are facing.

Thanks to consistent implementation of the perameters of the monetary policy when, as a result of which, it is estimated, a natural relationship will have been established between the monetary, fiscal, and credit spheres, that is to say between the wages, one of the first measures which will be taken will be freeing personal income from the present legal limits because there will be no money to distribute it over and beyond the amount that has been earned. For sea shipping, the FEC president went on to say, it is of great importance how the collective agreements which will regulate relations in distribution of personal income are worked out.

A successful outcome for this activity has been made easier by virture of the fact that the problem has been worked on throughout the world for a long time already, and such experience is invaluable because some solutions are applicable under our conditions, too. No doubt the condition to attain this is to form a different kind of trade union organization in this particular sector of industry.

The state can help this sector of industry confronting many problems—ranging from the return of overpayment of personal income, shortage of liquid funds, an expensive fleet and its maintenance, to the difficulties associated with the inflow of its own foreign currency resources, great loss of its labor force, and the excessive burden of joint expenditure—only within the framework of the system and reform program. While bearing all this in mind, Markovic reminded ship owners, the situation now is much better than it was in, say, 1982 and 1983 when this sector of industry was facing collapse.

The solution for specific problems will be sought, let us say, in excise duty facilities and liberalization of imports, especially of domestic fleets, by regulating the turnover tax in a different way, remanufacturing, and also with measures to strengthen our competitiveness on the world services market. By the same token, said the FEC president, this branch of industry must rid its business operations of the elements of ossified tradition to become more easily involved in world developments. This also means that it should substantially reduce the mounting cost of operations.

Meets TU Officials on Economic Policy

LD2202213990 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1825 GMT 22 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, 22 Feb (TANJUG)—Ante Markovic, Federal Executive Council [FEC] president, and Andjelko Vasic, president of the Yugoslav Trade Unions Council, talked today about the initial results of FEC measures of economic reform, trends in the area of personal incomes, and activities on drafting collective contracts. FEC officials and members of the Yugoslav Trade Unions council Presidium took part in the talks.

Problems which we face now stem from a lack of liquidity vis-a-vis personal incomes payments, Ante Markovic said. Two makor things happened. In January, the average personal income was 28.8 percent higher than in December. Since we calculated that it could at the most, be 15 percent higher, everything above that limit breached the framework of the established policy. The second problem refers to the fact that 11.8 percent of the overall payments were illegally appropriated through the payment of a share of personal incomes based on funds for collective consumption. This must be returned in the next three months, ending with the payment of the May salaries.

It was agreed to form a tripartite body consisting of representatives of the FEC, the trade unions, and the Yugoslav Economic Chamber to consider controversial issues in drafting collective contracts, and propose their solutions.

The meeting considered the character and content of the constitutional changes, as well as the previously expressed differences and dilemmas regarding the adoption of the law on strikes. Among other things, it was noted that the proposed law on strikes is too restrictive, with complicated procedures. It should be changed substantially. The talks also covered actions which the trade unions are undertaking on the international plane and the manner of their financing.

Spokesman on Trade Surplus With USSR

LD0103235690 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1925 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia this year contracted trade worth 9.3 billion dollars, of which over five billion dollars with the Soviet Union only, with five countries from the clearing region, a Yugoslav Government spokesman told the Federal Assembly on Thursday.

He said that a big trade surplus with the Soviet Union can no longer be allowed, because convertible payments will be introduced starting from January 1, 1991. Yugoslavia's 1989 1.8-billion-dollar surplus with the Soviet Union was one of the causes of the Yugoslav inflation, which last year soared to 1125 percent.

The deputies demanded from the federal government to prepare for the next session a report on the possible consequences of a balanced cooperation with the Soviet Union on certain branches of the Yugoslav economy. They warned about the danger from a drop in production and a rise of unemployment if some Yugoslav consumer goods are erased from Soviet commodity lists.

'Record' Trade With Poland for 1989

AU0503153390 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian 26 Feb 90 p 4

[Ilija Marinkovic report: "Market Economy—A Barrier Or a Chance?]

[Excerpt] Warsaw, 23 Feb—Despite very complex conditions and unexpected turnabouts in the business world, Yugoslavia and Poland achieved record results in their economic cooperation in 1989. The value of trade reached $910 million, of which 35 percent was achieved thanks to long-term agreements on specialization and cooperation.

The volume of trade was 6.3 percent larger than in 1988 but 2.8 percent lower than planned. Yugoslav businessmen were surprised by a trade deficit of $48 million, but it is assumed that this a result of some "statistical errors," and that the difference will be made up in the course of this year (through, among other things, the so-called equalization accounts).

The participants in the meeting of economic agencies in Poland, held in the middle of February, positively assessed the composition of trade. About 31 percent of the trade is in machines and equipment, while raw and production materials make up another 50 percent (exports from Yugoslavia amount to $179 million while imports amount to $276 million). Less satisfactory are the results achieved in the sphere of agricultural products and consumer goods. We imported more agricultural products than we exported. The 6.67 percent share of our consumer goods in the total trade illustrates the fact that our rich supply did not properly find its way to the hungry Polish market. [passage omitted]

Vajgl on Normalizing Relations With Israel

LD0103210790 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 1 Mar 90

[Text] Belgrade, March 1 (TANJUG)—Yugoslavia holds that a positive evolution of the situation in the Middle East would create conditions for a quicker full normalization of its relations with Israel, Yugoslav Foreign Secretariat spokesman Ivo Vajgl said today.

Asked by newsmen to comment on a statement by Yugoslav Presidency President Janez Drnovsek made during his recent visit to Egypt, when Drnovsek said Yugoslavia should establish consular relations with Israel, Vajgl said that this country's diplomatic representatives had already received instructions for the start of negotiations.

Yugoslav-Israeli diplomatic relations were broken off in [year indistinct].

Commenting on opinions that Yugoslavia was lagging behind other East European countries in the re-establishment of diplomatic relations with Israel, Vajgl said that the motives for breaking off the relations had not been the same. This is why it would be unrealistic to expect Yugoslavia to "mechanically imitate the countries of the Warsaw Pact," Vajgl stressed.

Swedish Extradition Decision Said 'Unacceptable'

LD2802223390 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1537 GMT 28 Feb 90

[Text] Belgrade, Feb 28 (TANJUG)—The Yugoslav Secretariat for Justice and Administration today expressed dissatisfaction at the Swedish Supreme Court's rejection to extradite ethnic Albanian Naser Shatri to Yugoslavia.

In November 1989, Shatri shot and seriously wounded a police inspector in the town of Istok, Yugoslavia's province of Kosovo. He then fled to Sweden, where he has been residing since 1984.

The Yugoslav Secretariat said that the decision, evidently motivated by political reasons, was unacceptable because "it deviates from the generally accepted principles of extradition procedure."

Criminal proceedings against Shatri are under way before the PEC district court in Kosovo, where Albanian separatists are active.